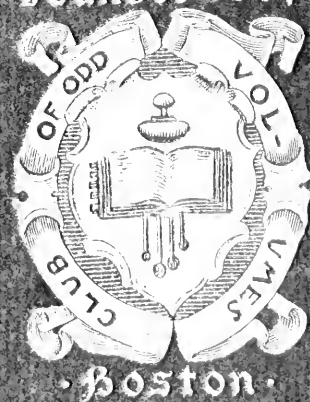


New-Englands Memoriall

Founded 1887





New-Englands Memoriall

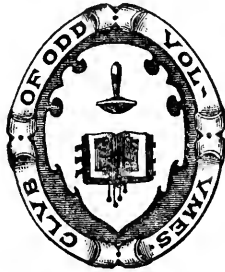
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New-Englands Memorials

By
NATHANIEL MORTON
11

With an Introduction by
ARTHUR LORD



BOSTON
THE CLUB OF ODD VOLUMES

1903

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Introduction

Introduction

AT a court held in Plymouth on the 5th of March, 1667, it was ordered "that whereas a certain Indian appertaining to our jurisdiction is now in held at Boston for matter of fact, and that there is probability of a tender of some land for his ransom from being sent to the Barbadoes, that in case the said land be tendered to acceptance that it shall be improved and expended for the defraying of the charge of the printing of the book entitled 'New England's Memoriall.'"

On the 3d of June, 1668, at the General Court of Elections held at Plymouth "the sume of twenty pounds in countrey pay was ordered to be improved by the Treasurer for and towards the printing of the book entitled New England's Memoriall; and it was likewise recomended to the several towns of this jurisdiction by their deputies to make a free and voluntary contribution in money for and towards the procuring of paper for the printing of said book." On the 7th of July, 1668, there is this entry: "In reference unto the printing of the book entitled New England Memoriall, the Court have ordered that the Treasurer shall indent with the printer for the printing thereof; and to improve that which is or shall be contributed

thereunto with the sune of twenty pounds ordered by the court to that end, and the sune of five pounds more if he shall see cause, the said twenty-five pounds to be paid out of the countrey's stock; and to indent with Mr. Green to print it if he will do it as cheap as the other, and for the number of copies to do as he shall see cause."

And on the 3d of July, 1669, it was ordered "that the Treasurer in the behalf of the country is to make good a barrel of merchantable beef to Mr. Green, the printer at Cambridge, which is to satisfy what is behind unpaid for and towards the printing of the book called New England Memoriall, which barrel of beef is something more then is due by bargain, but the court is willing to allow it in consideration of his complaint of a hard bargain about the printing of the book aforesaid."

The foregoing orders indicate the interest which was taken in the "New-Englands Memoriall," and the importance which the Colony attached to an accurate history of its first beginnings by one who seemed by association, relationship, experience and official position, singularly well qualified for the task. The first edition was printed in 1669 in Cambridge by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson for John Usher of Boston.

John Higginson, minister of Salem, and Thomas Thacher, minister of the Old South Church in Boston, in the "Preface to the Reader" in the first edition which

was signed by them, state that "The author is an approved, godly man, and one of the first planters of Plymouth. The work itself is compiled with modesty of spirit, simplicity of style and truth of matter, containing the annals of New England for the space of 47 years, with special reference to Plymouth Colony which was the first, and where the author has had his constant abode."

Nathaniel Morton was the son of George Morton, and came to Plymouth with his father in the "Ann" in July, 1623, being at that time a boy of about eleven years of age. John Davis, in his preface to the fifth edition of "New-Englands Memoriall," states that George Morton's wife Sarah was the sister of Governor Bradford. Later investigations have shown that George Morton's wife was Julianna, or Julia Ann, Carpenter, a sister of Alice Carpenter, to whom Governor Bradford was married in 1623.

George Morton is commonly accepted to be the G. Mourt whose name appears signed to the Preface of "Mourt's Relation," which was published in England in 1622. Possibly to his papers, as well as to the valuable manuscript of William Bradford, the Governor and historian of Plymouth, Nathaniel Morton, the son and nephew, had full access. To that manuscript history, whose discovery, in the library of the Bishop of London at Fulham in 1844, threw a new light upon the early history of the Plymouth Colony, Morton acknowledges himself to be principally indebted.

In 1635 Nathaniel Morton was admitted as a freeman of the Colony, but no record exists of the precise time when he was appointed Clerk of the Colonial Court. It is only known that he entered his first record of the proceedings of the Court on the 7th of December, 1647, and his first record of the town on the 4th of the following March. The office held by him and his predecessor, Mr. Sowther, was that of "clarke" until March 5, 1667-8, at which date he for the first time signed his name as secretary. Like his predecessor, he kept the town records in his capacity as Colonial Clarke or Secretary until the 4th of August, 1679, when, as appears from the record, he was "sworne Clarke of the Towne of Plymouth for this present yeer." See Introduction, by William T. Davis, to Vol. 1, "Records of the Town of Plymouth, 1636-1705."

In the same Introduction Mr. Davis states that Nathaniel Morton "lived for many years on the estate now (late) occupied by Frederick L. Holmes, adjoining Hob's Hole Brook, but in the latter part of his life he occupied a house which stood on the easterly side of Market Street, immediately above the estate of Mrs. John B. Atwood. His last entry in the town records is dated May 18, 1685, and he died on the 28th of the following month."

He first married, in 1635, Lydia Cooper, daughter of John Cooper of Scituate, who died in 1673. He married second, 1674, Hannah Templar, widow of Richard Templar of Charlestown, and daughter of Richard

Pritchard, who survived him. He had eight children, all by his first wife : two sons, who died in childhood, and six daughters, two of whom died during his lifetime.

Until the publication of the Bradford "Manuscript" in 1856, Morton's "Memoriall" was the principal source from which succeeding writers on the early history of the Colony drew their material.

Prince, who used the "Manuscript" in his "Annals," says, "I was from my early youth instructed in the History of this Country. And the first Book of this Kind put into my Hand was the *New England Memorial. compos'd by Mr. Secretary Morton*; being the History of Plimuth Colony from the Beginning to 1668. . . . And here I must Observe, That Mr. Morton's History, from the Beginning of the *Plimuth People* to the End of 1646, being chiefly Gov. *Bradford's* Manuscript abbreviated; from hence it comes to pass that in many Articles and Paragraphs which I cite from Gov. *Bradford*, both Mr. *Morton* and I happen to use the same Words and Sentences: Not that I deduce them from Mr. *Morton*, but because they are the original Words and Sentences in Gov. *Bradford*."

Dr. Young, in his "Chronicles of the Pilgrims," says that "In part Morton's chief merit is that of a diligent but not always accurate copyist of his uncle's documents. He would have done a much greater service by causing Gov. Bradford's 'History' to be printed entire. It is the loss of that work that now gives so much value to his extracts and compilations."

It is evident that the book did not meet the expectations of the writer's friends and townsmen, and the money contributions to its publication, made by order of the Court, did not bring that abundant return which was expected.

Morton clearly recognizes that there was somewhat of disappointment among his readers. In the preface, dated January 13, 1680, to his "Ecclesiastical History of the Church of Christ at Plymouth in New England," which history "was originally penned by Mr. William Bradford, Governor of New Plymouth," as appears by Morton's Note on the Church records into which it is copied by Morton, and which is now known to have been copied from Bradford's History he writes: "Some years since it pleased God to put an impulse upon my spirit to do something in an historical way concerning New England, more especially with respect to the Colony of New Plymouth, which was entitled New England's Memorial in which I occasionally took notice of God's great and gracious work in erecting so many churches of Christ in this wilderness. But it was judged by some that were judicious that I was too sparing and short in that behalf: the consideration whereof put me on thought of recollecting something more particularly relating to the church of Plymouth." And further he writes, "and for that end did once again repair to the study of my most honored uncle William Bradford Esquire, deceased, for whose care and faithfulness in such like respects we stand bound; as firstly

and mostly to the Lord, so secondarily to him and his whose labors in such respect might fitly have been published to the world had they not been involved in and amongst particulars of other nature."

Dr. Dexter, in a communication to the Mass. Historical Society in November, 1881 (Proceedings, Vol. XIX, p. 108), calls attention to the fact that Hazard, when he printed the transcript in his "Historical Collections," ed. 1792, gave the authorship to Morton himself, "an error which seems to have been followed by Judge Davis and Mr. Bancroft; and even Dr. Thacher in his 'History of Plymouth' (1832) does not lead one to infer that he had any suspicion of its source."

Dr. Alexander Young, in his "Chronicles of the Pilgrims," 1841, discovered the true author, and published the transcript from the Church Records as Governor Bradford's "History of Plymouth Colony."

We have no knowledge of Morton's life and character other than what we can gather from his writings, and from the offices which he held. It is difficult to understand why Morton failed to preserve and hand down something more of the life at that time in the Colony. He must have known well the leaders of the "Mayflower" company, — Bradford, Brewster, Winslow and Standish. As late as 1679, ten years after the publication of his "Memorials," twelve of the "Mayflower" passengers were still living.

By personal acquaintance, through tradition and story as well as in the official records which he kept for forty



years, the minute details of the Pilgrims' lives and labors were in his keeping. Possibly he attached little importance to the story of those feeble beginnings, or thought that Bradford's history was sufficiently precise in its narration of the events and scenes of the early years of the Pilgrim Colony, and that at no distant day it would be published, always to remain the authoritative history of Plymouth.

The need of such a history as his contemporaries evidently believed Morton would write, was to them plain and imperative. The story of the settlement of New England, of the causes which impelled the immigration to Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, and of the development of the Colonies during the privations and sufferings of their early years, not only had not been fully told, but until Morton published his "Memoriall" no history of the Colony at Plymouth during the years subsequent to the first three years of its settlement had been printed. Bradford and Winslow's "Journal," a diary of events from the arrival of the "Mayflower" to the return of the "Fortune" in December, and usually referred to as "Mourt's Relation," was published in 1622. "Good News from New England," by Edward Winslow, was published in 1624, and brings the story down to September 10, 1623. Next is Winslow's "Brief Narrative of the true grounds of cause of the first planting of New England" [1620-1623], which was printed in 1646 at London, at the end of his answer to Gorton, entitled "Hypocrisie Unmasked."

It is of interest, therefore, to note that at the time of the publication of Morton's book there was no narrative history of Plymouth Colony of a later date than 1623. Even if Morton had assumed that Bradford's "History" was to be printed at some date in the future, there was the story of Plymouth Colony for twenty years prior to the publication of his "Memoriall," which was not included within the limits of Bradford's "Manuscript."

Although the publication of Bradford's "History" has taken from the "Memoriall" its chief value as a record of the foundation of the Plymouth Colony and of the early years of its settlement, the "Memoriall" will always have a certain curious interest in its numerous biographical and obituary notices of the leading laymen and ministers in both Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonies, and especially in the anagrams and elegiac verses commemorative of the lives and deaths of these ancient worthies of New England.

It is worthy of mention also that the names of the vessels, the "Mayflower" and the "Speedwell," forever to be connected with the Pilgrim emigration from Holland, and the historic and tempestuous voyage across the Atlantic, first appeared in print in Morton's book. The fact that the name of the ship which safely bore the Pilgrim company to their new home, in the new world, is preserved in the Records of the Colony in the handwriting of Bradford, forever sets at rest the disturbing and speculative discussion

whether Morton accurately gave the name of the Pilgrim ship.

Dr. Thacher says, "The work, it will be allowed, contains a rich fund of interesting narrative, relative to the early events which ought to be remembered, and every page indicates a mind imbued with the true spirit of piety and benevolence."

The first edition was published, as before stated, in 1669, at Cambridge. In the "Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature," by William Thomas Lowndes, there is a reference to an edition of the "New-Englands Memoriall," by Nathaniel Morton, printed at London, 1669, and which was sold at the sale of the library of George Richard Savage Nassau, in 1824, for eleven shillings. No copy of that edition is now known to exist, and it is not probable that an edition was ever printed in London.

John Collins, a mathematician of some celebrity in his day, who was officially connected with the Council of Plantations at that time, writing to Dr. Beale, August 20, 1672 (see 6th Vol. Proceedings, Mass. Hist. Society, page 427), says, "There is a 4to book printed in New England entitled 'New England's Memorial' by Nathaniel Morton, being a history and journal of the settlement and transactions in that Colony." Evidently the only edition with which this English writer was familiar was the Cambridge edition of 1669.

The printers of this first edition were Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. Samuel Green was the

successor of Stephen Day, the first printer in New England, an inhabitant of Cambridge, and who acquired the printing press which the Rev. Joseph Glover brought to this country. Marmaduke Johnson, whose initials, M. J., appear on the title-page of the first edition, was sent over to the Colony in 1660 as an assistant to Green, when he was employed to print the Indian Bible by the Society for Propagating the Gospel.

In May, 1665, upon Johnson's return from a visit to England, he brought over a new press and letters, and set up a new printing establishment in Cambridge. It is very probable that part of the book was printed by Samuel Green on the old press, and part by Marmaduke Johnson on the new press. The excellent appearance of the book is doubtless due to the superior technical knowledge, to the longer experience, and to the finer taste of Marmaduke Johnson, aided by an improved press and a new font of type.

John Usher, for whom the book was printed, was a wealthy Boston Bookseller, who married in 1668 Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Lidgett, a rich merchant of Boston. She died in 1698, and he married for second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Allen, Governor of New Hampshire. Usher was a Councillor of Massachusetts, Treasurer of the Province, and employed by the Massachusetts government to negotiate the purchase of the Province of Maine from the heirs of Ferdinand Gorges. He was for several years Lieutenant Governor of the Province of New Hampshire, but upon the ex-

piration of his term of office in 1715 he returned to Massachusetts and retired to Medford, where he died Sept. 1, 1726. His widow sold his estate of a mansion and five hundred acres of land to Colonel Royal.

There is a striking illustration of the amenities of the literature of that date in the references by Morton to Samuel Gorton, in his "New-Englands Memoriall," and in the reply by Samuel Gorton to Nathaniel Morton, dated at Warwick, June 30, 1669, shortly after the publication of the first edition of the "Memoriall," which letter is printed in the "Tracts and Other Papers Collected by Peter Force, Washington, 1846, Vol. 4, No. 7."

Morton refers to Samuel Gorton, who came to Plymouth from Boston soon after his arrival in Boston in 1636, as a "proud and pestilent seducer, and deeply leavened with blasphemous and familistical opinions," and bitterly attacks the character, principles and doctrine of Gorton and his associates. In a long letter to Morton, covering some sixteen pages in Force's "Tracts," Gorton replies violently and indignantly to the charges made against him, and picturesquely describes Morton's "Memoriall" in vigorous English in the lines "Yea, your record ariseth out of the bottomlesse pit, the smoake whereof is as a stifling fog of darknesse in your booke." The pages of the "Memoriall" which refer to Gorton, and Gorton's letter in reply, curiously and aptly illustrate the spirit of those religious controversies of that day, when the strict orthodox laymen and ministers

of the time deal with those who "call the holy Word and sermons of salvation tales ; the Lord's supper an abomination and a spell ; baptism, vanity and abomination ; the ministers of the word necromancers ; and by other opprobrious terms vilify and traduce them," and who, in later years and less strenuous times, delight to be described as "advanced thinkers."

Gorton was not permitted to stay in Plymouth, was imprisoned and whipped in Rhode Island, taken in Providence and brought to Boston, confined in Charlestown, and then banished from the jurisdiction.

The late Mr. Ellis Ames had for many years a manuscript copy of the statutes or laws of Plymouth Colony in 164 long and closely written pages, certified by and in the handwriting of Nathaniel Morton. This contained the revision of the laws of 1658, with all the supplements down through the year 1666. In Mr. Ames' opinion it was the only one in existence of a number of copies then made to be sent to the several towns in the Colony, and this particular copy was sent to the town of Bridgewater.

There were then no printed copies of the laws, and the duties of the secretary of the Colony seemed to require that he should transcribe and furnish to the towns and to others who might desire them, manuscript copies of these laws in his own handwriting. Mr. Ames' collection of Massachusetts laws was bought by Dr. Moore, the librarian of the Lenox Library, for his own collection. Dr. Moore's best collection of laws is

now in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and his second best set of laws is in the Lenox Library, it having been purchased after Dr. Moore's death. Upon inquiry of the librarians of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and of the Lenox Library, I am informed that this manuscript copy by Morton of the Statutes of Plymouth Colony is not now in either library. If this valuable copy is now in existence its present location is unknown. The fact, however, that as late as 1658 it was necessary to laboriously transcribe the Statutes of Plymouth Colony for the use of the several towns within its jurisdiction and their citizens, is a striking illustration of the simplicity and economy of the early days, and of the laborious duties of a colonial secretary. The wearisome days which Morton must have devoted to this arduous labor of transcribing the laws, may afford some explanation why his history is not as full and minute as his contemporaries and their successors have wished.

The second edition of "New-Englands Memoriall" was printed in 1721 at Boston, by John Allen. To this edition was added a supplement of a few pages, in which the history was carried to the date of the arrival of Sir William Phipps at Boston, with the new charter, May, 1692. The supplement was written by Josiah Cotton, the son of the Rev. John Cotton, who held at different times the offices of Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, Justice of the same court, Register of Probate and Register of Deeds. He

was the author of the "Account of Plymouth Church," which was published as an appendix to the sermon of the Rev. Philemon Robbins, delivered at the ordination of the Rev. Chandler Robbins at Plymouth in 1760.

The third edition was printed at Newport in 1772, by Solomon Southwick. No new notes were added to that edition.

In 1826 a fourth edition of the "Memorial," containing Mr. Cotton's supplement, was printed at Plymouth by Allen Danforth, at that time printer of the *Old Colony Memorial*, a newspaper published at Plymouth.

The fifth edition, edited by John Davis, a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Member of the Mass. Hist. Society, and Judge of the United States District Court, was printed in Boston in 1826. This edition is of great value, containing many full notes prepared by Judge Davis, and a valuable appendix of 143 pages. This edition was copyrighted on the 13th day of December, A. D. 1826, by the Pilgrim Society.

The sixth edition was published at Boston in 1855, by the Congregational Board of Publication. It is a thick octavo volume of 537 pages, the title-page of which reads "New England's Memorial. By Nathaniel Morton, Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Sixth Edition. Also Governor Bradford's History of Plymouth Colony; Portions of

Prince's Chronology; Governor Bradford's Dialogue; Governor Winslow's Visits to Massasoit; with numerous Marginal Notes and an Appendix containing numerous articles relating to the Labors, Principles and Character of the Puritans and Pilgrims."

In the publication of this facsimile reproduction, the copies of the first edition belonging to Mr. Frederick L. Gay and Mr. George E. Littlefield of this Society, were used by the Committee on Publication. The copy belonging to Mr. Gay is specially worthy of mention as one of the few perfect copies of the first edition of 1669 now in existence, and as a remarkably fine specimen of this excessively rare book.

The "Memoriall" will always remain of unique interest as the first important attempt to write and print in New England a comprehensive history of the first half century of the settlement of the Colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. The contributions made by the Colony Court to its publication at a time when the funds of the Colony were apparently more needed in the bitter struggles necessary for its existence than in the publication of its history, indicate the importance which the men of that day attached to Morton's work, and their appreciation of his capacity and special attainments for the task. It is a memorial well worthy of permanent preservation. To the student of New England's history it will always have a peculiar value as the first published account by a contemporary writer of the men who made its history from 1620 to 1669, and of

the events of those years which, to a judicious and experienced observer who had a personal and official knowledge of the men and measures which he described, seemed the most important and most worthy of permanent preservation in the pages of history.

ARTHUR LORD.

April 8, 1903.

NEW-ENGLANDS MEMORIALL:

O R,

A brief Relation of the most Memorable and Remarkable
Passages of the Providence of God, manifested to the

P L A N T E R S

O F

New-England in America;

With special Reference to the first Colony thereof, Called
N E W - P L I M O U T H.

As also a Nomination of divers of the most Eminent Instruments
deceased, both of Church and Common-wealth, improved in the
first beginning and after-progress of sundry of the respective
Jurisdictions in those Parts; in reference unto sundry
Exemplary Passages of their LIVES, and
the time of their DEATH.

Published for the Use and Benefit of present and future Generations,
By **NATHANIEL MORTON,**
Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth.*

Deut. 32. 10. *He found him in a desert Land, in the waste howling wilderness he led him
about; he instructed him, he kept him as the Apple of his Eye.*

Jerem. 2. 2, 3. *I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine Espousals,
when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a Land that was not sown, &c.*

Deut. 8. 2, 16. *And thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee
this FORTY YEARS in the wilderness, &c.*

C A M B R I D G E :

Printed by S.G. and M. J. for John Usher of Boston. 1669..



To the Reader.

IT is much to be desired there might be extant *A Compleat History of the United Colonies of New-England*, that God may have the praise of his goodness to his People here, and that the present and future Generations may have the benefit thereof. This being not attainable for the present, nor suddenly to be expected, it is very expedient, that (while sundry of the Eldest Planters are yet living) *Records and Memorials of Remarkable Providences* be preserved and published, that the true Originals of these Plantations may not be lost; that *New-England*, in all time to come, may remember the day of her smallest things; and that there may be a furniture of *Materials* for a true and full History in after-times.

For these and such-like Reasons we are willing to Recommend unto the Reader this present *Narrative* as a Useful Piece. The Author is an approved godly man, and one of the first Planters at *Plimouth*; The Work it self is Compiled with Modesty of Spirit, Simplicity of Style, and Truth of Matter, containing the *Annals of New-England* for the space of 47 years, with special reference to *Plimouth* Colony, which was the first, and where the Author hath had his constant abode: And yet (so farre as his Intelligence did reach) relating many Remarkable Passages in the several Colonies; and also making an honourable mention of divers of the most Eminent Servants of God that have been amongst us in several parts of the Country, after they had finished their course. We hope that the Labor of this good man will finde a general Acceptance amongst the People of God, and also be a means to provoke some or other in the rest of the Colonies (who have had the knowledge of things from the beginning) to Contribute their *Observations and Memorials* also; by which means, what is wanting in this *Narrative*, may be supplied by some others: and so in the issue, from divers *Memorials* there may be matter for a just *History of New-England* in the Lords good time. In the mean time, this may stand for a *Monument*, and be deservedly acknowledged as an *Eben-Ezer*, that *Hitherto the Lord hath helped us.*

March 26. 1669.

John Higginson.

Thomas Thacher.



To the Right Worshipful,
THOMAS PRINCE Esq;
Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New Plimouth*;
with the Worshipfull, the
MAGISTRATES,
His Assistants in the said Government :

*N. M. wisheth Peace and Prosperity in this Life, and
Eternall Happines in that which is to come.*

Right Worshipfull,

THe consideration of the weight of Duty that lieth upon us, to Commemorize to future Generations the memorable passages of Gods Providence to us and our Predecessors in the beginning of this Plantation, hath wrought in me a restlesnes of spirit, and earnest desire, that something might be atchieved in that behalf, more (or at least otherwise) then as yet hath been done. Many discouragements I have met with, both from within and without my self: but reflecting upon the *Ends* I have proposed to my self in setting out in this Work, it hath afforded me some support, viz. *The*
A 3 *glory*

The epistle Dedicatory.

glory of God, and the good of present and future Generations. Being also induced hereunto, by the consideration that your selves (especially some of you) are fully acquainted with many of the particulars, both concerning *Persons* and *Things*, inserted in the following Narrative, and can on your own knowledge assert them for Truth. Were it so that any other had travelled in this kinde, in such a way as might have conduced to a brief and satisfactory intelligence in particulars relating to the premises, I would have spared this labour, and have satisfied my self in perusal of their Works, rather then to have set pen to paper about the same; but having neither seen nor heard of any, especially respecting this our Plantation of *New-Plimouth*, which God hath honoured to be the first in this Land, I have made bold to present your Worships with, and to publish to the world something of the very *first Beginnings* of the great Actings of God in *New-England*, begun at *New-Plimouth*: wherein, the greatest part of my intelligence hath been borrowed from my much honoured Uncle, Mr. *William Bradford*, and such Manuscripts as he left in his Study, from the year 1620, unto 1646; whom had God continued in this world some longer time, and given him rest from his other more important Affairs, we might probably have had these things from an abler Pen, and better digested, then now you may expect. Certain *Diurnals* of the honoured Mr. *Edward Winslow*, have also afforded me good light and help: and what from them both, and otherwise I have obtained, that I judged suitable for the following Discourse, I have with care and faithfulness related; and have therein more
sollici-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

sollicitously followed the truth of things (many of which I can also assert on my own knowledge) then I have studied quaintness in expressions.

I should gladly have spoken more particularly of the Neighbouring *United Colonies*, whose ends and aims in their Transplanting of themselves and Families, were the same with ours, viz. *The glory of God, the propagation of the Gospel, and enlargement of His Majesties Dominions*; but for want of intelligence, and that I may not prevent a better Pen, I shall onely make mention of some of their Worthies that we have been most acquainted with.

I shall not insist upon the Clime nor Soyle of the Country, its Commodities or Discommodities; nor at large on the Natives, or their Customes and Manners: all which have been already declared by Captain *Smith*, Mr. *Higginson*, Mr. *Williams*, Mr. *Wood*, and others. What it is, and what my aims at Gods glory, and my good affections to the place and people of whom I treat, may make it, I present your Worships with; Humbly craving your favourable aspect, and good acceptance of my poor Endeavours; and that my self and it may finde protection and shelter under the wings of your pious Patronage, to defend us against such criticall and censorious eyes and tongues, as may either carp at my expressions, or misconstrue my intentions. The ample experience I have had of your undeserved Favour and Respect to me, in my many years Service of the *Publick*, and my observation in that time, that you have desired something of this nature might be done, hath encouraged me hereunto: your good acceptance whereof, shall ever oblige me to answerable returning of gratitude,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

tude, and administer to me further cause of thankfulness, That God hath given me an Habitation under your just and prudent Administrations; and wish for a Succession of such as may be skilfull to lead our *Israel* in this their peregrination; and when God shall take you hence, to receive the Crown of your labours and travels. So prayeth,

Your Worthips humble Servant,

Nathaniel Morton.

TO



TO THE
CHRISTIAN
Reader :

Grace and Peace be multiplied ; With Profit by
this following Narration.

Gentle Reader,

I Have for some length of time looked upon it as a duty incumbent , especially on the immediate Successors of those that have had so large Experience of those many memorable and signall Demonstrations of Gods goodness, viz. The first Beginners of this Plantation in New-England, to commit to writing his gracious dispensations on that behalf; having so many inducements thereunto , not onely otherwise, but so plentifully in the Sacred Scriptures : That so, what we have seen, and what our fathers have told us, we may not hide from our children, shewing to the generations to come the praises of the Lord ; that especially the seed of Abraham his servant, and the children of Jacob his chosen , may remember his marvellous works in the beginning and progress of the planting of
a New,

Psal. 78. 3, 4.

Psal. 105. 8, 9.

To the Christian Reader.

Phil. 80. 8, 9. New-England, his wonders, and the judgements of his mouth: *How that* God brought a vine into this Wilderness; *that* he cast out the Heathen and planted it; *that* he made room for it, and caused it to take deep root, and it filled the Land; *so that* it hath sent forth its boughs to the Sea, and its branches to the River. *And not onely so, but also that* He hath guided his people, by
Exod. 15. 13. his strength to his holy Habitation, *and planted them in the Mountain of his Inheritance, in respect of precious Gospel-Enjoyments. So that we may not onely look back to former Experiences of Gods goodness to our Predecessors, (though many years before) and so have our faith strengthened in the Mercies of God for our times; that so the Church being one Numerical Body, might not onely even for the time he spake with us in our Forefathers, by many gracious manifestations of his glorious Attributes, Wisdom, Goodness, and Truth, improved for their good: but also rejoyce in present Enjoyments of both outward and spirituall mercies, as fruits of their Prayers, Tears, Travels and Labours. That as especially God may have the glory of all, unto whom it is most due; so also some rayes of glory may reach the Names of those blessed Saints that were the main Instruments of the beginning of this happy Enterprize.*

Psal. 66. 6.
Hosea 12 4.

So then, gentle Reader, thou mayest take notice, that the main Ends of publishing this small History, is, That God may have his due praise, His Servants the Instruments have their Names embalmed, and the present and future Ages may have the fruit and benefit of Gods great work, in the Relation of the first Planting of New England. Which Ends, if attained, will be great cause of rejoycing to the Publisher thereof, if God gives him life.

To the Christian Reader.

life, and opportunity to take notice thereof.

The Method I have observed, is (as I could) in some measure answerable to the ends forenamed, in inserting some Acknowledgements of Gods Goodness, Faithfulness, and Truth upon special occasions, with allusion to the Scriptures; and also taking notice of some special Instruments, and such main and special Particulars as were perspicuously remarkable, in way of Commendation in them, so farre as my intelligence would reach; and especially in a faithful Commemorizing, and declaration of Gods wonderful works for, by, and to his people, in preparing a place for them, by driving out the Heathen before them; bringing them through a Sea of Troubles; preserving and protecting them from, and in those dangers that attended them in their low estate, when they were strangers in the Land; and making this howling Wilderness a Chamber of rest, safety, and pleasantness, whiles the storms of his Displeasure have not onely tossed, but endangered the overwhelming of great States and Kingdomes, and hath now made it to us a fruitful Land, sowed it with the seed of man and beast; but especially in giving us so long a peace, together with the Gospel of peace, and so great a freedome in our Civil and Religious Enjoyments; and also in giving us hopes that we may be Instruments in his hands, not onely of enlarging of our Princes Dominions, but to enlarge the Kingdome of the Lord Jesus, in the Conversion of the poor blinde Natives.

And now, Courteous Reader, that I may not hold thee too long in the Porch, I onely crave of thee to reade this following Discourse with a single eye, and with the same ends as I had in penning it. Let not the smallness of our Beginnings, nor weakness of Instruments, make the thing
6002

To the Christian Reader.

seem little, or the work despicable; but on the contrary, let the greater praise be rendred unto God, who hath effected great things by small means. Let not the harshness of my style, prejudice thy taste or appetite to the dish I present thee with: Accept it as freely as I give it thee. Carp not at what thou dost not approve, but use it as a Remembrance of the Lords goodness, to engage to true Thankfulness and Obedience; so may it be a help to thee in thy journey through the wilderness of this world, to that Eternal Rest which is onely to be found in the Heavenly Canaan: which is the earnest desire of

Thy Christian Friend,

Nathaniel Morton.

NEW.



NEW-ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL:

O R,

A brief Relation of the most Remarkable Passages of
the Providence of God manifested to the Planters of
New-England in *AMERICA*.

And first, of the beginning of the first Plantation in *N.E.*

C A L L E D

NEW-P L I M O U T H.

IT is the usuall manner of the Dispensation of the Majesty of Heaven, to work wonderfully by weak means for the effectuating of great things, to the intent that he may have the more Glory to himself: Many instances hereof might be produced, both out of the Sacred Scriptures, and common Experience; and amongst many others of this kinde, the late Happy and Memorable Enterprize of the Planting of that part of *America* called *New-England*, deserveth to be Commemorized to future Posterity.

IN the Year 1602. divers godly Christians of our English Nation in the North of *England*, being studious of Reformation, and therefore not onely witnessing against Humane Inventions, and Additions in the Worship of God, but minding most the positive and practical part of Divine Institutions, they entred into Covenant, To walk with God, and one with another, in the enjoyment of the Ordinances of God, according

to the Primitive Patern in the Word of God. But finding by experience they could not peaceably enjoy their own liberty in their Native Country, without offence to others that were differently minded; they took up thoughts of removing themselves and their Families into the *Netherlands*, which accordingly they endeavoured to accomplish, but met with great hinderance: yet after some time, the good hand of God removing obstructions, they obtained their desires; arriving in *Holland*, they settled themselves in the City of *Leyden*, in the year 1610, and there they continued divers years in a comfortable condition, enjoying much sweet society and spiritual comfort in the wayes of God, living peaceably among themselves, and being courteously entertained, and lovingly respected by the *Dutch*, amongst whom they were strangers, having for their Pastor Mr. *John Robinson*, a man of a learned, polished, and modest spirit, pious and studious of the Truth, largely accomplished with futable Gifts and Qualifications: to be a Shepherd over this Flock of Christ; having also a fellow-helper with him in the Eldership, Mr. *William Brewster*, a man of approved Piety, Gravity, and Integrity, very eminently furnished with gifts futable to such an Office.

But notwithstanding their amiable and comfortable carrying on, (as hath been said) although the Church of Christ on Earth in holy Writ, is sometimes called *Heaven*; yet there is alwayes in their most perfect state here in this lower world, very much wanting as to absolute and perfect happiness, which is onely reserved for the time and place of the full enjoyment of Celestial Glory: for, although this Church was at peace, and in rest at this time, yet they took up thoughts of removing themselves into *America* with common consent; the Proposition of removing thither being set on foot, and prosecuted by the Elders upon just and weighty grounds: for, although they did quietly and sweetly enjoy then Church liberties under the *States*, yet they foresaw that *Holland* would be no place for their Church and Posterity to continue in comfortably, at least in that measure that they hoped to finde abroad; and
that

that for these Reasons following, which I shall recite as received from themselves.

First, Because themselves were of a different Language from the *Dutch*, where they lived, and were settled in their way, in-somuch that in ten years time, whiles their Church sojourned amongst them, they could not bring them to reform the neglect of Observation of the Lords-day as a Sabbath, or any other thing amiss amongst them.

Secondly, Because their Countrymen, who came over to joyn with them, by reason of the hardnes of the Country, soon spent their Estates, and were then forced either to return back to *England*, or to live very meanly.

Thirdly, That many of their Children, through the extreme necessity that was upon them, although of the best dispositions, and graciously inclined, and willing to bear part of their Parents burthens, were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labours, that although their Spirits were free and willing, yet their Bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepid in their early youth, and the vigour of Nature consumed in the very bud. And that which was very lamentable, and of all sorrows most heavy to be born, was, that many by these occasions, and the great licentiousness of Youth in that Country, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reins on their necks, and departing from their Parents: Some became Souldiers, others took upon them farre Voyages by Sea, and other some worse courses tending to dissoluteness, and the destruction of their Souls, to the great grief of their Parents, and the dishonour of God; and that the place being a place of great licentiousness and liberty to Children, they could not educate them, nor could they give them due correction without reproof or reproach from their Neighbours.

Fourthly, That their Posterity would in few generations become *Dutch*, and so lose their interest in the *English* Nation; they being desirous rather to enlarge His Majesties Dominions,

This hath been graciously answered since, by moving the hearts of many of his Servants to be very instrumental in this work, with some good success, & hopes of a further blessing in that respect.

and to live under their Naturall PRINCE.

Fifthly and lastly, and which was not the least, a great hope and inward Zeal they had of laying some good Foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancement of the Gospel of the Kingdome of Christ in those remote parts of the World, yea although they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for the performance of so great a Work.

These and such like were the true Reasons of their removal, and not as some of their Adversaries did upon the rumour thereof, cast out slanders against them; as if the *State* was weary of them, and had rather driven them out, (as Heathen Histories have feigned of *Moses* and the *Israelites*, when they went out of *Egypt*) then that it was their own free choice and motion.

I will therefore mention a particular or two, to evince the contrary.

And first, Although some of them were low in their Estates, yet the *Dutch* observing that they were diligent, faithful and careful of their engagements, had great respect to them, and strove for their custome.

Again, secondly, the Magistrates of the City of *Leyden* where they lived, about the time of their coming away, in the publick place of Justice gave this commendable Testimony of them, in reproof of the *Walloons* who were of the *French Church* in the City; *These English* (said they) *have lived now amongst us Ten years, and yet we never had any Suit or Accusation against them, or any of them; but your Strifes and Quarrels are continuall.*

The Reasons of their Removal above-named being debated first in private, and thought weighty, were afterwards propounded in publick; and after solemn dayes of Humiliation observed both in publick and in private, it was agreed, That part of the Church should go before their Brethren into *America*, to prepare for the rest: and if in case the major part of
the

the Church did chuse to go over with the first, then the Pastor to go along with them; but if the major part stayed, that he was then to stay with them.

They having employed sundry Agents to treat with severall Merchants in *England*, who adventured some considerable Sums in a way of valuation to such as went personally on in the Voyage; the Articles of Agreement about the premises being fully concluded with the said Merchants, and sundry Difficulties and Obstructions removed, having also obtained *Letters Patents* for the Northern parts of *Virginia*, of King *James* of Famous Memory; All things were got ready and provided, a small Ship was bought and fitted out in *Holland*, of about sixty Tun, called *The Speedwell*, as to serve to transport some of them over, so also to stay in the Country, and attend upon Fishing, and such other affairs as might be for the good and benefit of the Colony when they came thither. Another Ship was hired at *London*, of Burthen about Nine-score, called *The May-flower*, and all other things got in a readiness: so being prepared to depart, they had a solemn day of Humiliation, the Pastor teaching a part of the day very profitably and suitably to the present occasion, the rest of the time was spent in pouring out of Prayers unto the Lord with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears; and the time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with most of their Brethren out of the City, unto a Town called *Delfs Haven*, where the Ship lay ready to receive them: so they left that goodly and pleasant City, which had been their resting place above eleven years; but they knew that they were *Pilgrims and Strangers* here below, and looked not much on these things, but lifted up their eyes to Heaven, their dearest Country, where *God hath prepared for them a City*, and therein quieted their spirits.

*The Text of
Scripture was
Ezra 8.21.*

Hebr. 11.15.

When they came to the place, they found the Ship and all things ready; and such of their Friends as could not come with them, followed after them, and sundry came from *Amsterdam* to see them ship, and to take their leaves of them.

One night was spent with little sleep with the most, but with friendly entertainment, and Christian discourse, and other reall expressions of true Christian love. The next day the wind being fair they went on Board, and their friends with them, where truly-doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting, to hear what sighs and sobs and prayers did sound amongst them; what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each others heart, that sundry of the *Dutch* strangers that stood on the Key as spectators, could not refrain from tears: yet comfortable and sweet it was, to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfeigned love. But the Tide (which stayes for no man) calling them away, that were thus loth to depart, their Reverend Pastor falling down on his knees, and they all with him, with watery cheeks commended them with most fervent Prayers unto the Lord and his blessing; and then with mutual imbraces, and many tears, they took their leaves one of another, which proved to be the *last leave* to many of them. Thus hoysing Sail with a prosperous gale of wind, they came in short time to *Southampton*, where they found the bigger Ship come from *London*, being ready with all the rest of their Company, meeting each other with a joyful welcome and mutual congratulation.

*This was about
the second of
July 1620.*

At their parting, their Pastor Mr. *John Robinson* wrote a Letter to the whole Company, which I thought meet here to insert, being so fruitfull in it self, and sutable to their occasions,

Loving Christian Friends,

I Do heartily, and in the Lord salute you, as being those with whom I am present in my best affections, and most earnest longings after you, though I be constrained for a while to be bodily absent from you: I say, Constrained; God knowing how willingly, and much rather then otherwise, I would have borne my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessity held back for the present. Make account of me in the mean time as a man divided in my self, with great pain, (and as Natural bonds set
aside)

aside) having my better part with you : And although I doubt not but in your godly wisdomes you both foresee and resolve upon that which concerneth your present state and condition, both severally and joyntly ; yet have I thought it but my duty to adde some further spur of provocation unto them who run already, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty. And first, as we are daily to renew our Repentance with our God, especially for our sins known, and generally for our unknown trespasses : so doth the Lord call us in a singular manner, upon occasions of such difficulty and danger as lieth upon you, to a both narrow search, and careful reformation of your ways in his sight, lest he calling to remembrance our sins forgotten by us, or unrepented of, take advantage against us, and in judgement leave us to be swallowed up in one danger or other : whereas on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest Repentance, and the pardon thereof from the Lord sealed up to a mans Conscience by his Spirit, great shall be his security and peace in all dangers, sweet his comforts in all distresses, with happy deliverance from all evil, whether in life or death. Now next after this heavenly peace with God and our own Consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men, what in us lieth, especially with our Associates ; and for that, watchfulness must be had that we neither at all in our selves do give, no nor easily take offence being given by others. Woe be to the world for offences, for although it be necessary, considering the malice of Satan and mans corruption, that offences come, yet woe unto the man, or woman either, by whom the offence cometh, saith Christ, Matthe. 18. 7. and if offences in the unseasonable use of things in themselves indifferent, be more to be feared then death it self, as the Apostle teacheth, 1 Cor. 9. 15. how much more in things simply evil, in which neither honour of God nor love of man is thought worthy to be regarded ? Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep our selves by the grace of God from giving of offence, except withall we be armed against the taking of them when they are given by others : for how imperfect and lame is the work of Grace in that person, who wants Charity to cover a multitude of offences ? as the Scripture speaks. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace,
only

onely upon the common grounds of Christianity, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either want Charity to cover offences, or Wisdome due to weigh humane frailties; or lastly, are gross though close Hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Mat. 7. 1, 2, 3. as indeed, in my own experience few or none have been found which sooner give offence, then such as easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound and profitable Members in Societies, who have nourished this touchy humour. But besides these, there are divers Motives provoking you above others to great care and conscience this way; as first, there are many of you strangers as to the persons, so to the infirmities one of another, and so stand in need of more Watchfulness this way, lest when such things fall out in men and women as you expected not, you be inordinately affected with them, which doth require at your hands much Wisdome and Charity for the covering and preventing of incident offences that way. And lastly, your intended course of Civil Community, will minister continuall occasion of offence, and will be as fuel for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance: and if taking of offence causlessly or easily at mens doings, be so carefully to be avoided; how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himself? which yet we certainly do, so oft as we do murmur at his Providence in our crosses, or bear impatiently such afflictions as wherewith he is pleased to visit us. Store up therefore Patience against the evil day; without which, we take offence at the Lord himself in his holy and just works. A fourth thing there is carefully to be provided for; viz. That with your common Employments, you joyn common Affections truly bent upon the generall Good, avoiding as a deadly Plague of your both Common and Special Comforts, all retiredness of minde for proper advantage; and all singularly affected every manner of way, let every man repress in himself, and the whole Body in each person, as so many Rebels against the Common Good, all private respects of mens selves, not sorting with the general Convenience. And as men are careful not to have a new House shaken with any violence, before it be well settled, and the parts firmly knit: so be you, I beseech you Brethren, much more carefull that the House of God (which

(which you are, and are to be) be not taken with unnecessary Noveltyes, or other Oppositions at the first setting thereof.

Lastly, Whereas you are to become a Body Politick, rising amongst your selves Civil Government, and are not furnished with persons of special Eminency above the rest, to be chosen by you into Office of Government; Let your wisdom and godliness appear not only in choosing such persons as do intirely love, and will promote the Common Good; but also in yielding unto them all due Honour and Obedience in their lawful Administrations, not beholding in them the ordinariness of their persons, but Gods Ordinance for your good: not being like the foolish multitude, who more honour the gay Coat, then either the virtuous minde of the man, or the glorious Ordinance of the Lord: But you know better things, and that the Image of the Lords Power and Authority which the Magistrate beareth is honourable, in how mean persons soever; and this duty you may the more willingly, and ought the more conscionably to perform, because you are (at least for the present) to have them for your ordinary Governours, which your selves shall make choice of for that Work.

Sundry other things of Importance I could put you in minde of, and of those before-mentioned in mere words; but I will not so far wrong your godly mindes, as to think you heedless of these things, there being also divers amongst you so well able both to admonish themselves and others of what concerneth them. These few things therefore, and the same in few words, I do earnestly commend unto your Care and Conscience, joyning therewith my daily and incessant Prayers unto the Lord, That He who hath made the Heavens, and the Earth, and Sea, and all Rivers of Waters, and whose Providence is over all his Works, especially over all his dear Children for good, would so guide and guard you in your Wayes, as inwardly by his Spirit, so outwardly by the hand of his power, as that both you, and we also for and with you, may have after-matter of praising his Name all the dayes of your and our lives. Fare you well in Him in whom you trust, and in whom I rest,

An unfeigned well-willer of your happy success in this hopefull Voyage,

JOHN ROBINSON.

C

of

Upon the receipt of this letter, the company was called together. and it was publicly read amongst them, which had good acceptance with all, and after fruit with many.

Of the Troubles that befell the first Planters upon the Coast of England, ana in their Voyage in coming over into New England, and their arrival at Cape Cod, alias Cape James.

Al things being got ready, and every business dispatched, they ordered and distributed their Company for either Ship, (as they conceived for the best) and chose a Governour, and two or three Assistants for each Ship, to order the people by the way, and to see to the disposing of the Provision, and such like affairs; all which was not only with the liking of the Masters of the Ships, but according to their desires; which being done, they set Sail from *Sor thampton* the fifth of *August*, 1620. But alas, the best Enterprizes meet oftentimes with many discouragements, for they had not sailed farre, before Mr. *Reynolds*, the Master of the lesser Ship, complained that he found his Ship so leak, as he durst not put further to Sea: on which they were forced to put in at *Dartmouth*, Mr. *Jones* the Master of the biggest Ship likewise putting in there with him; and the said lesser Ship was searched, and mended, and judged sufficient for the Voyage by the Workmen that mended her: On which, both the said Ships put to Sea the second time, but they had not sailed above an hundred Leagues, ere the said *Reynolds* again complained of his Ship being so leak, as that he feared he should founder in the Sea, if he held on; and then both Ships bore up again, and went in at *Plimouth*: but being there searched again, no great matter appeared, but it was judged to be the general weakness of the Ship. But the true reason of the retarding and delaying of matters was not as yet discerned: the one of them respecting the Ship (as afterwards was found) was, that she was over-Masted, which when she came to her trim in that respect, she did well, and made divers profitable and successful Voyages. But secondly, and more especially, by the deceit of the Master and his Company,
who

who were hired to stay a whole year in the Country, but now fancying dislike, and fearing want of Victuals, they plotted this stratagem to free themselves, as afterwards was known, and by some of them confessed; for they apprehended that the greater Ship being of force, and in whom most of the Provisions were bestowed, that she would retain enough for her self, whatsoever became of them and the Passengers: But so strong was self-love and deceit in this man, as he forgot all duty and former kindness, and dealt thus falsely with them. These things thus falling out, it was resolved by the whole to dismiss the lesser Ship, and part of the Company with her, and that the other part of the Company should proceed in the bigger Ship: which when they had ordered matters in reference thereunto. they made another sad parting, the one Ship, (*viz.*) the lesser going back for London, and the other (*viz.*) *The May-flower*, Mr. Jones being Master, proceeding on in the intended Voyage.

These troubles being blown over; and now all being compact together in one Ship, they put to Sea again with a prosperous wind: but after they had enjoyed fair winds for a season, they met with many contrary winds and fierce storms, with which their Ship was shrewdly shaken, and her upper works made very leaky, and one of the main Beams of the Mid-ships was bowed and cracked, which put them to some fear that she would not be able to perform the Voyage; on which the principal of the Seamen and Passengers had serious consultation what to do, whether to return or hold on: but the Ship proving strong under water, by a Screw the said Beam was brought into his place again; which being done, and well secured by the Carpenter, they resolved to hold their Voyage, and so after many boisterous storms in which they could bear no sail, but were forced to lye at Hull many dayes together; after long beating at Sea, they fell in with the land called * *Cape Cod*: the

* Cape Cod, so called at the first by Captain Gosuold and his Company, Anno 1602,

because they took much of that Fish there; and afterward called Cape James by Captain Smith. The Point of the Cape is called Point Caves, and Tuckers Tarrour; and by the French and Dutch Mallacar, by reason of the perilous Shores.

C. 2

which

which being made, and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some little deliberation had amongst themselves with the Master of the Ship, they tacked about to stand to the Southward, to finde some place about *Hudsons River*; (according to their first intentions) for their Habitations: But they had not sailed that Course above half a day, but they fell amongst perillous Sholes and Breakers, and they were so farre intangled therewith, as they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withall, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape aforesaid: the next day, by Gods Providence, they got into the Cape harbour. Thus they arrived at *Cape Cod*, alias *Cape James*, in *November 1620.* and being brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of Heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious Ocean, and delivered them from many perils and miseries.

*Of this Plot be
twixt the Dutch
and Mr. Innes
I have had late
and certain In-
telligence.*

Nevertheless, it is to be observed, that their putting into this place was partly by reason of a storm, by which they were forced in, but more especially by the fraudulency and contrivance of the aforesaid Mr. *Jones*, the Master of the Ship: for; their Intention, as is before-noted, and his Engagement, was to *Hudsons River*; but some of the *Dutch* having notice of their intentions, and having thoughts about the same time of erecting a Plantation there likewise, they fraudulently hired the said *Jones* by delayes while they were in *England*, and now under pretence of the danger of the Sholes, &c. to disappoint them in their going thither: But God out-shoots Satan oftentimes in his own Bow, for had they gone to *Hudsons River* as before expressed, it had proved very dangerous to them: for although it is a place farre more commodious, and the Soil more fertile, yet then abounding with a multitude of pernicious Salvages, whereby they would have been in great peril of their lives, and so the work of transplanting the Gospel into these parts, much endangered to have been hindred and retarded: but God so disposed, that the place where they afterward settled was much depopulated by a great Mortality amongst the Natives;

tives, which fell out about two years before their arrival, whereby he made way for the carrying on of his good purpose in promulgating of his Gospel as aforesaid.

But before we pass on, let the Reader with me make a pause, and seriously consider this poor peoples present condition, the more to be raised up to admiration of Gods goodness towards them in their preservation: for being now passed the vast Ocean, and a sea of Troubles before in their Preparation, they had now no Friends to welcome them, no Inns to entertain or refresh them, no Houses, or much less Towns to repair unto to seek for succour: the *Barbarians* that *Paul* the Apostle fell amongst in his Shipwrack at the Isle *Melita*, shewed him no small *kindness*; but these Salvage *Barbarians* when they met with them (as after will appear) were readier to fill their sides full of Arrows, then otherwise: and for the season, it was Winter, and they that know the Winters of the Country, know them to be sharp and violent, subject to cruel and fierce Storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search unknown Coasts. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate Wilderness, full of wilde Beasts and wilde Men? and what multitudes of them there were, they then knew not: neither could they as it were go up to the Top of *Pisgah*, to view from this Wilderness a more goodly Country to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to Heaven) they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward object, for Summer being ended, all things stand in appearance with a weather-beaten face, and the whole Country full of Woods and Thickets, represented a wilde and salvage hew; if they looked behinde them, there was the mighty Ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main Bar and Gulph to separate them from all the Civil Parts of the World. The Master of the Ship and his Company pressing with speed to look out a place for their Settlement at some near distance, for the season was such as he would not stir from thence, untill a safe Harbour was discovered by them with their Boat: yea, it was sometimes threatned, that if they would not

Acts 28.

Psal. 107. 1, 2,
4, 5, 8.

get a place in time, that they and their goods should be turned on shore, and that the Ship would leave them; the Master expressing himself, that Provisions spent apace, and that he would keep sufficient for himself and his Company for their return. It is true indeed, that the love and affections of their Brethren they left behinde them in *Holland*, was cordial and intire towards them, but they had little power to help them or themselves: what could now sustain them but the Spirit of God and his grace? Ought not, and may not the Children of these Fathers rightly say, *Our Fathers were English-men, which came over this great Ocean, and were ready to perish in this Wilderness; but they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voice, and looked on their adversity: Let them therefore praise the Lord, because he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever; yea, let them who have been the redeemed of the Lord shew how he hath delivered them from the hand of the oppressor, when they wandered in the desert Wilderness out of the way, and found no City to dwell in; both hungry and thirsty, their soul was overwhelmed in them: Let them therefore confess before the Lord his loving kindness, and his wonderful works before the children of men?*

Of the first Planters their Combination by entring into a Body Politick together; With their proceedings in discovery of a place for their Settlement and Habitation.

BEING thus fraudulently dealt with (as you have heard) and brought so farre to the Northward, the season being sharp, and no hopes of obtaining their intended Port; and thereby their Patent being made void and useles as to another place: Being at *Cape Cod* upon the Eleventh of *November 1620.* it was thought meet for their more orderly carrying on of their Affairs, and accordingly by mutual consent they entred into a solemn Combination as a Body Politick, To submit to such Government and Governours, Laws and Ordinances, as should
by

by a general Consent from time to time be made choice of, and assented unto. The Contents whereof followeth.

IN the Name of God, Amen. We whose Names are under-written, the Loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King *James*, by the grace of God of *Great Britain, France and Ireland*, King, *Defendor of the Faith, &c.* Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian Faith, and the Honour of our King and Countrey, a Voyage to plant the first Colony in the Northern parts of *Virginia*; Do by these Presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, Covenant and Combine our selves together into a Civil Body Politick, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid: and by virtue hereof do enact, constitute and frame such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions and Officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our Names at *Cape Cod*, the eleventh of *November*, in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King *James*, of *England, France and Ireland* the eighteenth, and of *Scotland* the fifty fourth, *Anno Dom. 1620.*

This was the first Foundation of the Government of New-Plimouth.

John Carver.

William Bradford.

Edward Winslow.

William Brewster.

Isaac Allerton.

Mil s Standish.

John Alden.

Samuel Fuller.

Christopher Martin.

William Mullins.

William White.

Richard Warren.

John Howland.

Steven Hopkins.

Edward Tilly.

John Tilly.

Francis Cook.

Thomas Rogers.

Thomas Tinker.

John Ridgale.

Edward Fuller.

John

<i>John Turner.</i>	<i>Digery Priest.</i>	<i>Richard Clark.</i>
<i>Francis Eaton.</i>	<i>Thomas Williams.</i>	<i>Richard Gardiner.</i>
<i>James Chilton.</i>	<i>Gilbert Winslow.</i>	<i>John Allerton.</i>
<i>John Craxton.</i>	<i>Edmond Margefon.</i>	<i>Thomas English.</i>
<i>John Billington.</i>	<i>Peter Brown.</i>	<i>Edward Doten.</i>
<i>Joses Fletcher.</i>	<i>Richard Bitteridge.</i>	<i>Edward Liefert.</i>
<i>John Goodman.</i>	<i>George Soule.</i>	

Mr. John Car-
ver the first Go-
vernour of the
Jurisdiction of
New Plimouth

After this, they chose Mr. *John Carver*, a man godly and well-approved amongst them, to be their Governour for that year.

Necessity now calling them to look out a place for Habitation, as well as the Master and Mariners importunity urging them thereunto; while their Carpenter was trimming up of their Boat, sixteen of their men tendred themselves to go by land and discover those nearest places; which was accepted: and they being well armed, were sent forth on the sixteenth of *November 1620.* and having marched about a mile by the Seaside, they espied five *Indians*, who ran away from them, and they followed them all that day sundry miles, but could not come to speech with them: so night coming on, they betook themselves to their Rendezvouz, and set out their Sentinels, and rested in quiet that night; and the next morning they followed the *Indians* tracts, but could not finde them nor their dwellings, but at length lighted on a good quantity of clear ground near to a Pond of fresh water, where formerly the *Indians* had planted *Indian Corn*, at which place they saw sundry of their graves; and proceeding further, they found new Stubble where *Indian Corn* had been planted the same year; also they found where lately an house had been, where some Planks and a great Kettle was remaining, and heaps of sand newly paddled with their hands, which they digged up, and found in them divers fair *Indian* Baskets filled with Corn, some whereof was in Ears fair and good of divers colours, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, having seen none before: Of which Rarities they took some to carry to their friends on Shipboard, like as the

Israelites

Israelites Spies brought from *Ephraim* some of the good fruits of the Land : but finding little that might make for their encouragement as to situation, they returned, being gladly received by the rest of their Company.

After this, their Shallop being ready, they set out the second time for a more full Discovery of this place, especially a place that seemed to be an opening as they went into the said Harbour some two or three Leagues off, which the Master judged to be a River ; about thirty of them went out on this second Discovery, the Master of the Ship going with them : but upon the more exact discovery thereof, they found it to be no Harbour for Ships, but onely for Boats. There they also found two of their Houses covered with Mats, and sundry of their Implements in them ; but the people ran away, and could not be seen : Also there they found more of their Corn and Beams of various colours ; the Corn and Beams they brought away, purposing to give them full satisfaction when they should meet with any of them. And here is to be noted, a special and a great mercy to this people, that here they got them seed to plant their Corn the next year, or otherwise they might have starved, for they had none, nor any likelihood to get any, untill the season had been past (as the sequel did manifest) neither is it likely that they had had this, if the first Discovery had not been made, for the ground was now all covered with Snow ; and hard frozen ; but the Lord is never wanting unto those that are his in their greatest needs. Let his holy Name have all the praise.

About 6 months after they gave them full satisfaction to their content.

A special Providence of God to be noted.

Having thus discovered this place, it was controverted amongst them what to do, touching their abode and settling there. Some thought it best for many Reasons to abide there :

1. Because of the Convenience of the Harbour for Boats, though not for Ships.

2. There was good Corn-ground ready to their hands, as was seen by experience in the goodly Corn it yielded, which would again agree with the ground, and be natural seed for the same.

D

3. Cape

3. Cape *Cod* was like to be a place for good Fishing, for they saw daily great Whales of the best kinde for Oyl.

4. The place was likely to be healthful, secure, and defensible.

5. and lastly, The especial Reason was, that now the heart of Winter and unseasonable weather was come upon them, so as they could not go upon Coasting and Discovery, without danger of losing both men and Boat, upon which would follow the overthrow of all, especially considering what variable winds and sudden storms do there arise; also cold and wet lodging had so tainted their people, as scarce any of them were free from vehement Coughs, as if they should continue long, it would indanger the lives of many, and breed diseases & infection amongst them. Again, that as yet they had some Provisions, but they would quickly be spent, and then they should have nothing to comfort them in their labour and toyl that they were like to undergo. At the first it was also conceived, whiles they had competent Victuals that the Ship would stay, but when that grew low, they would be gone, and let them shift for themselves.

Others again urged to go to *Agawam*, aliàs *Angawam*, a place about twenty Leagues off to the Northward, which they had heard to be an excellent Harbour for Ships, better ground, and better fishing.

Secondly, for any thing they knew there might be hard by us a farre better Seat, and it would be a great hinderance to seat where they should remove again.

About this time Mrs. Susanna White was delivered of a Son who was named Peregrine; he was the first of the English that was born in N. E. and still surviveth, & is the Lieutenant of the Military Company of Marshfield.

But to omit many Reasons and Replies concerning this matter, it was in the end concluded to make some discovery within the Bay, but in no case so farre as *Angawam*. Besides, *Robert Coppin* their Pilot made relation of a great Navigable River, and good Harbour in the other Head-land of the Bay, almost right over against Cape *Cod*, being in a right line not much above eight Leagues distant, in which he had once been; and beyond that place they that were to go on discovery were enjoined not to go.

The Month of *November* being spent on these Affairs, and having

having much foul weather ; on the sixth of *December* they concluded to send out their Shallop again on a third Discovery. The Names of those that went on this Discovery, were Mr. *John Carver*, Mr. *William Bradford*, Mr. *Edward Winslow*, Captain *Miles Standish*, Mr. *John Howland*, Mr. *Richard Warren*, Mr. *Steven Hopkins*, Mr. *Edward Tilly*, Mr. *John Tilly*, Mr. *Clark*, Mr. *Coppin*, *John Allerton*, *Thomas English*, *Edward Doten*, with the Master Gunner of the Ship, and three other of the common Seamen ; these set sail on Wednesday the sixth of *December* 1620, intending to Circulate the deep Bay of *Cape Cod*, the weather being very cold, so as the Sprae of the Sea lighting on their Coats, they were as if they had been glazed ; notwithstanding, that night they got down into the bottom of the Bay, and as they drew near the shore they saw some ten or twelve *Indians*, and landed about a League off them, (but with some difficulty, by reason of the Sholes in that place) where they tarried that night. In the morning they divided their Company to coast along, some on shore, and some in the Boat, where they saw the *Indians* had been the day before cutting up of a Fish like a *Grampus* ; and so they ranged up and down all that day, but found no people, nor any place they liked as fit for their settlement : and that night they on shore met with their Boat at a certain Creek, where they made them a Barricado of boughs and logs for their lodging that night, and being weary betook themselves to their rest. The next morning about five of the clock (seeking guidance and protection from God by prayer) and refreshing themselves in way of preparation to persist on in their intended Expedition, some of them carried their Arms down to the Boat, having laid them up in their Coats from the moisture of the weather ; but others said they would not carry theirs untill they went themselves : But presently all on a sudden, about the dawning of the day, they heard a great and strange cry, and one of their Company being on board, came hastily in, and cried, *Indians*, *Indians*, and withall their Arrows came flying amongst them ; on which, all their men ran with speed to recover their

This is thought to be a place called Namskeket.

Arms (as by Gods good Providence they did.) In the mean time, some of those that were ready discharged two Muskets at them, and two more stood ready at the entrance of their Rendezvous, but were commanded not to shoot, untill they could take full aim at them; and the other two charged again with all speed, for there were onely four that had Arms there, and defended the Barricado which was first assaulted. The cry of the *Indians* was dreadful, especially when they saw their men run out of their Rendezvous towards the Shallop to recover their Arms; the *Indians* wheeling about upon them: but some running out with Coats of Mail, and Cuttle-axes in their hands, they soon recovered their Arms, and discharged amongst them, and soon stayed their violence. Notwithstanding, there was a lusty man, and no less valiant, stood behinde a Tree within half a Musket shot, and let fly his Arrows amongst them: he was seen to shoot three Arrows, which were all avoided, and stood three shot of a Musket, untill one taking full aim at him, made the Bark or Splinters of the Tree fly about his ears; after which he gave an extraordinary shriek, and away they went all of them: and so leaving some to keep the Shallop, they followed them about a quarter of a mile, that they might conceive that they were not afraid of them, or any way discouraged.

This place on this occasion was called, the first Encounter.

Thus it pleased God to vanquish their Enemies, and to give them deliverance, and by his special Providence so to dispose; that not any one of them was either hurt or hit, though their Arrows came close by them; and sundry of their Coats which hung up in the Barricado were shot through and through: for which salvation and deliverance they rendred solemn Thanks-giving unto the Lord.

From hence they departed, and coasted all along, but discerned no place likely for Harbout, and therefore halted to the place their Pilot (as aforesaid) told them of, who assured them that there was a good Harbour, and they might fetch it before night: of which they were glad, for it began to be foul weather.

After some hours sailing it began to Snow and Rain, and about

about the middle of the Afternoon the wind increased, and the Sea became very rough, and they brake their Rudder; and it was as much as two men could do to steer the Boat with a couple of Oars; but the Pilot bid them be of good chear, for he saw the Harbour: but the storm increasling, and night drawing on, they bare what sail they could to get in while they could see: but herewith they brake their Malt in three pieces, and their Sail fell over-board in a very grown Sea, so as they had like to have been cast away; yet by Gods mercy they recovered themselves, and having the flood with them, struck into the Harbour. But when it came to, the Pilot was deceived in the place, and said, *Lord be merciful to us, my eyes never saw this place before*: and he and the Masters Mate would have run the Boat ashore in a Cove full of Breakers before the wind, but a lusty Seaman which steered bade them that rowed, *If they were men, about with her, else they were all cast away*; the which they did with all speed: so he bade them *be of good chear, and row hard, for there was a fair Sound before them, and he doubted not but they should finde one place or other where they might ride in safety*. And although it was very dark, and rained fore, yet in the end they got under the lee of a small Island, and remained there all night in safety. But they knew not this to be an Island untill the next morning, but were divided in their mindes, some would keep the Boat, doubting they might be amongst the *Indians*, others were so wet and cold they could not endure, but got on shore, and with much difficulty got fire, and so the whole were refreshed, and rested in safety that night. The next day rendring thanks to God for his great deliverance of them, and his continued merciful good Providence towards them, and finding this to be an Island, it being the last day of the week, they resolved to keep the Sabbath there.

This was between the place called the Gurnets Nose and Sagauah, by the mouth of Plimouth harbour.

This was afterwards called Clarks Island, because Mr. Clark the Masters Mate first stepped on shore thereon.

On the second day of the week following they founded the Harbour, and found it fit for Shipping, and marched into the Land, and found divers Corn fields, and little running Brooks, a place (as they supposed) fit for Situation, at least it was the best that they could finde, and the season and their present ne-

cessity made them glad to accept of it. So they returned again to their Ship with this News to the rest of their people, which did much comfort their hearts.

On the fifteenth of *December* they weighed Anchor, to go to the place they had discovered, and arrived the sixteenth day in the Harbour they had formerly discovered, and afterward took better view of the place, and resolved where to pitch their Dwellings; and on the Five and twentieth day of *December* began to erect the first House for common use, to receive them and their goods: and after they had provided a place for their goods and common store (which was long in unlading for want of Boats, and by reason of foulness of the winter weather, and sickness of divers) they began to build some small Cottages for Habitation, as time would admit; and also consulted of Laws and Orders both for their *Civil* and *Military Government*, as the necessity of their present condition did require. But that which was sad and lamentable, that in two or three Moneths time half of their Company died, especially in *January* and *February*, being the depth of Winter, wanting houses and other comforts, being infected with the Scurvy, and other Diseases, which this long Voyage and their incommode condition had brought upon them, so as there died sometimes two, sometimes three on a day in the aforesaid time, that of One hundred and odd persons, scarce Fifty remained. Amongst others in the time fore-named, died Mr. *William Mullins*, a man pious and well-deserving, endowed also with a considerable outward Estate; and had it been the will of God that he had survived, might have proved an useful Instrument in his place, with several others who deceased in this great and common affliction, whom I might take notice of to the like effect. Of those that did survive in this time of distress and calamity that was upon them, there was sometimes but six or seven sound persons, who (to their great commendation be it spoken) spared no pains night nor day to be helpful to the rest, not shunning to do very mean services to help the weak and impotent. In which Sickness the Seamen shared also deeply, and
many

many died, to about the one half of them before they went away. Thus being but few, and very weak, this was an opportunity for the Salvages to have made a prey of them, who were wont to be the most cruel and treacherous people in all these parts, even like Lions; but to them they were as Lambs, God striking a dread in their hearts, so as they received no harm from them. The Lord also so disposed, as aforesaid, much to waste them by a great Mortality, together with which were their own Civil Dissentions, and Bloody Wars, so as the twentieth person was scarce left alive when these people arrived, there remaining sad spectacles of that Mortality in the place where they seated, by many bones and skulls of the dead lying above-ground; whereby it appeared, that the living of them were not able to bury their dead. Some of the ancient *Indians* that are surviving at the writing hereof, do affirm, That about some two or three years before the first *English* here arrived, they saw a *Blazing Star* or *Comet*, which was a fore-runner of this sad Mortality, for soon after it came upon them in extremity. Thus God made way for his people, by removing the Heathen, and planting them in the Land; yet we hope in mercy to some of the posterity of these poor blinde Salvages, by being means (at least stepping-stones) for others to come and Preach the Gospel amongst them: of which afterwards in its more proper place. But to return.

The *Indians* after their arrival would shew themselves as farre off; but when they endeavoured to come near them, they would run away. But about the sixteenth of *March*, 1621. a certain *Indian* called *Samoset* came boldly amongst them, and spake to them in broken English, which yet they could well understand; at which they marvelled: but at length they understood that he belonged to the Eastern parts of the Country, and had acquaintance with sundry of the *English* Fishermen, and could name sundry of them, from whom he learned his language. He became very profitable to them, in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the Country in the Eastern parts, as also of the people here; of their Names,

Num-

This seemeth to be the same that was seen about that time in Europe.

Number, and Strength, of their Situation, and Distance from this place, and who was Chief amongst them: He told them also of another *Indian* called *Squanto*, alias *Tisquantam*, one of this place, who had been in *England*, and could speak better English then himself: And after courteous entertainment of him, he was dismissed. Afterwards he came again, with some other Natives, and told them of the coming of the great *Sachem* named *Massasoit*, who (about four or five dayes after) came with the chief of his Friends and other Attendants, with the aforesaid *Squanto*, with whom (after friendly entertainment and some gifts given him) they made a League of Peace with him, which continued with him and his Successors to the time of the writing hereof. The terms and Conditions of the said League is as followeth:

Of this see
more in the year
1639.

I. **T**hat neither he, nor any of his, should injure or do hurt to any of their people.

II. That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the Offender that they might punish him.

III. That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored; and they should do the like to his.

IV. That if any did unjustly War against him, they would aid him; and if any did War against them, he should aid them.

V. That he should send to his Neighbour-Confederates; to certifye them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in these Conditions of Peace.

VI. That when his Men came to them upon any occasion, they should leave their Arms (which were then Bowes and Arrows) beinde them.

VII. Lastly, That so doing, their Sovereign Lord King James would esteem him as His Friend and Ally.

All which he liked well, and withall at the same time acknowledged himself content to become the Subject of our Sovereign Lord the King aforesaid, His Heirs and Successors; and gave unto them all the Lands adjacent, to them and their Heirs for ever.

After

After these things he returned to his place called *Sowams*, about fourty miles distant from *Plimouth*, but *Squanto* continued with them, and was their Interpreter, and proved a special Instrument sent of God for their good beyond expectation; he directed them in Planting their Corn, where to take their Fish, and to procure their Commodity; and also was their Pilot to bring them to unknown places for their profit, and never left them untill his death: He was a Native of this place where *Plimouth* is, and scarce any left besides himself. He was carried away (with divers others) by one named *Hunt*, a Master of a Ship, who thought to sell them for Slaves in *Spain*, but he got away for *England*, and was entertained by a Merchant in *London*, and imployed to *Newfound-land* and other parts; and at last brought hither into these parts by one Mr. *Dermer*, a Gentleman imployed by Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* and others, for Discovery, and other Designs in these parts: of whom I shall say something, because it is mentioned in a Book set forth Anno 1622. by the President and Council for *New-England*, That he made the Peace between the Salvages of these parts and the English, of which this Plantation (as it is intimated) had the benefit: and what a Peace it was, may appear by what befell him and his men.

This Merchant's name was Mr. Slaney.

This Mr. *Dermer* was here the same year that these people came, as appears by a Relation written by him, bearing date June 30. Anno 1620. and they arrived in the Country in the Month of November following, so that there was but four Months difference: In which Relation to his honoured Friend, he hath these passages of this very place where *New-Plimouth* is; I will first begin (saith he) with that place from whence *Squanto*, or *Tisquantam* was taken away, which in Captain Smiths Map is called * *Plimouth*, and I would that *Plimouth* had the like Commodities. I would that the first Plantation might here be seated, if there come to the number of Fifty persons, or upwards; otherwise at *Charlton*, because there the Salvages are less to be feared. The *Pocanaketts*, which live to the West of *Plimouth*, bear an inveterate malignity to the English, and are of

* This name of *Plimouth* was so called not only for the reason here named, but also because *Plimouth* in O.E. was the last town they left in their Native Country; & for that they received many kindnesses from some Christians there.

Note.

more strength then all the Salvages from thence to Panobskut : Their desire of Revenge was occasioned by an English-man, who having many of them on Board, made great slaughter of them with their Murderers and small Shot, when (as they say) they offered no injury on their parts. Whether they were English or no, it may be doubted; yet they believe they were, for the French have so possesst them : for which cause Squanto cannot deny but they would have killed me when I was at Namassaket, had he not intreated hard for me. The Soyl of the Borders of this great Bay, may be compared to most of the Plantations which I have seen in Virginia. The land is of divers sorts; for Patukket is an heavy but strong Soyl, Nauset and Satukket are for the most part a blackish and deep Mould, much like that where groweth the best Tobacco in Virginia. In the bottom of the Bay is great store of Cod, Bass or Mullet, &c. And above all, he commends Pacannaker for the richest Soyl, and much open ground, likely and fit for English Grain. Massachusetts is about nine leagues from Plimouth, and situate in the mids: between both is many Islands and Peninsuls, very fertile for the most part. With sundry such Relations, which I forbear to transcribe, being now better known then they were to him.

This Gentleman was taken Prisoner by the Indians at Mannamose, (a place not farre from Plimouth, now well known) he gave them what they demanded for his liberty; but when they had got what they desired, they kept him still, and endeavoured to kill some of his men, but he was freed by seizing on some of them, and kept them bound till they gave him a Canooes load of Corn: Of which see Purch. lib. 9. fol. 1778. But this was Anno 1619.

Now called
Martins Vine-
yard.

After the writing of the former Relation, he came to the Isle Capemak, which lieth South from this place in the way to Virginia, and the aforesaid Squanto with him; where he going on shore amongst the Indians to trade, as he used to do, was assaulted and betrayed by them, and all his men slain, but one that kept the Boat: but himself got on Board very fore wounded, and they had cut off his Head upon the Cuddy of the Boat, had

had not his Man rescued him with a Sword, and so they got away, and made shift to get into *Virginia*, where he died, whether of his wounds, or the Diseases of the Country, or both, is uncertain. By all which it may appear how farre this people were from Peace, and with what danger this Plantation was begun, save as the powerful hand of the Lord did protect them.

These things were partly the Reasons why the *Indians* kept aloof, as aforesaid, and that it was so long ere they could come to speech with any of them: Another Reason (as afterwards themselves made known) was, how that about three years before these first Planters arrived, a certain *French Ship* was cast away at *Cape Cod*, but the men got on shore, and saved their lives, and much of their Victuals and other goods; but afterwards the *Indians* heard of it, and gathered together from these parts, and never left watching and dogging them, untill they got advantage, and kill'd them all but three or four, which they kept and sent from one *Sachem* to another to make sport with them, and used them worse then Slaves; and they conceived this Ship was now come to revenge it. Two of the said *French* so used were redeemed by the aforesaid Mr. *Dermer*, the other died amongst the *Indians*: and as the *Indians* have reported, one of them lived amongst them untill he was able to discourse with them, and told them, *That God was angry with them for their wickedness, and would destroy them, and give their Country to another people, that should not live like beasts as they did, but should be clothed, &c.* But they derided him, and said, *That they were so many that God could not kill them.* His answer was, *That though they were never so many, God had many wayes to destroy them that they knew not.* Shortly after his death came the Plague, a Disease they never heard of before, and mightily swept them away, and left them as dung upon the earth (as you have heard.) Not long after came the *English* to *New-Plimouth*, and then several of the *Indians* began to minde the *French-mans* words, thinking him to be more then an ordinary man. And as the first part of his speech had proved true, they began to

*A memorable
passage of Gods
punishing of the
Heathen for
their notorious
Blasphemy, and
other sins.*

Several instances of the Mortality of the Indians occasionally taken notice of.

Exod. 23. 28, 29-30.

Behold how Satan laboured to hinder the Gospel from coming into N.E.

be apprehensive of the latter, viz. *The loss of their Country*. This Relation the first Planters at *Plimouth*, after they came to be acquainted with them, several of them heard from divers of their ancient and gravest *Indians*, and have often seen the place where the *French* were surpris'd and taken; which place beareth the Name of *Frenchmans Point* with many to this day. This Relation for the verity thereof, being also very observable, was thought meet to be here inserted: And let me adde a word hereunto; That it is very observable likewise, That God hath very evidently made way for the *English*, by sweeping away the Natives by some great Mortalities; as first, by the *Plague* here in *Plimouth* Jurisdiction; secondly, by the *Small Pox* in the Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts*, a very considerable people a little before the *English* came into the Country; as also at *Conecticut*, very full of *Indians* a little before the *English* went into those parts; and then the *Pequots* by the Sword of the *English* (as will appear in its place) and the Country now mostly possessed by the *English*. I might also mention several places in the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*, peopled with considerable companies of proper able men, since the first Planters thereof came over, even in our sight, before they were in a capacity to improve any of their land, that have by the same hand of Providence been cut off, and so their Land even cleared for them, and now so replenished with their Posterity, that places are too straight for them. *By little and little* (saith God of old to his people) *will I drive them out from before thee, till thou be increased, and inherit the Land.*

But before I pass on, let the Reader take notice of a very remarkable particular, which was made known to the said Planters at *Plimouth* some short space after their arrival, That the *Indians*, before they came to the *English* to make Friendship with them, they got all the *Powams* in the Country, who for three dayes together in a horrid and devillish manner did Curse and Execrate them with their Conjurations: which Assembly and Service they held in a dark and dismall Swamp. But to return.

The

The Spring being now come, it pleased God that the Mortality which had taken away so many of the first Planters at *Plimouth*, ceased, and the Sick and Lame recovered apace, which was as it were a new life put into them; they having born this Affliction with much patience, being upheld by the Lord. And thus we are come unto the Twenty fifth of *March*, 1621.

I 6 2 1.

THIS Year several of the *Indian Sachems* (besides *Massasoit* before-named) came unto the Government of *New-Plimouth*, and acknowledged themselves to be the Loyal Subjects of our Sovereign Lord King *James*, and subscribed unto a Writing to that purpose with their own hands; the tenour of which said Writing followeth, with their Names annexed thereunto. It being conceived by some that are judicious, that it may be of use in succeeding times, I thought meet here to insert it.

September 13. Anno Dom. 1621.

KNOW all men by these Presents, That we whose Names are under-written do acknowledge our selves to be the Loyal Subjects of King *James*, King of *Great Britain, France and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. In Witness whereof, and as a Testimonial of the same, we have Subscribed our Names or Marks, as followeth.

*Ohqnaméhd.
Cawnacome.
Obbatinnua.*

*Nattawahunt.
Caunbatant.
Chikkarabak.*

*Quadaquina.
Huttamoiden.
Apannow.*

*Now followeth several Passages of the Providence of God to,
and the further progress of the first Planters at Pli-
mouth, appertaining to the Year 1621.*

They now began to hasten the Ship away, which carried so long by reason of the necessity and danger that lay on them, because so many died both of themselves, and the Ships Company likewise; by which they became so few, as the Master durst not put out to Sea, untill those that lived recovered of their Sicknes, and the Winter over.

The Spring of this year they Planted their first Corn in *New-England*, being instructed in the manner thereof by the fore-named *Squanto*: they likewise sowed some *English* Grain with little success, by reason partly of the badness of the Seed, and lateness of the season, or some other defect not then discerned.

In the Month of *April* in this year, their Governour Mr. *John Carver* fell sick, and within a few dayes after died, whose death was much lamented, and caused great heaviness amongst them; and there was indeed great cause. He was buried in the best manner they could, with as much Solemnity as they were in a capacity to perform, with the Discharge of some Volleys of shot of all that bare Arms. This worthy Gentleman was one of singular Piety, and rare for Humility, as appeared by his great condescendency, when as this poor miserable people were in great sickness and weakness, he shunned not to do very mean services for them, yea the meanest of them: He bare a share likewise of their labour in his own person, accordingly as their extreme necessity required; who being one also of a considerable Estate, spent the main part of it in this Enterprize, and from first to last approved himself not onely as their Agent in the first transacting of things, but also all along to the period of his life, to be a pious, faithful, and very beneficial Instrument, and now is reaping the fruit of his labour with the Lord. His

His Wife who was also a gracious woman, lived not six weeks after him : shee being overcome with excessive grief for the loss of so gracious an Husband, likewise died.

In some short distance of time after this, Mr. *William Bradford* was chosen Governour of *Plimouth* in his stead, being not as yet well recovered of his weakness, having bin at the point of death, and Mr. *Isaac Allerton* likewise was chosen to be his Assistant.

The second of *July* in this year they sent Mr. *Edward Winslow* and Mr. *Steven Hopkins*, unto the great Sachem *Massasoiet* aforesaid, with a gratuitie to congratulate with him, and to view his Country, and likewise to take notice of what strength of men he had, &c. having *Squanto* for their guide : who found his place to be about forty Miles from *New-Plimouth*, his People few in comparison of what they had been, by reason of the mortality amongst the *Indians* forementioned. These brought word upon their return of the *Narrhagansets*, a People that lived on the other side of that great Bay, which are a People strong and many in number, living compact together, and had not at all been touched with the wasting Plague before-specified. They also brought a full intelligence in reference unto the particulars they were sent about, and so returned in safety.

Thus their peace being well established with the *Natives* about them, which was much furthered by an *Indian* named *Hobamak*, who came to live amongst the *English*; he being a proper lusty young man, and one that was in account amongst the *Indians* in those parts for his valour, continued faithful and constant to the *English* until his death. He with the said *Squanto* being sent amongst the *Indians* about business for the *English*, were surprized by an *Indian Sachem* named *Corbitant*, who was no friend to the *English*; he met with them at *Namassaket*, and began to quarrel with them, and offered to stab *Hobamak*, who being a strong man, soon cleared himself of him; and with speed came and gave intelligence to the Governour of *Plimouth*, saying, he feared that *Squanto* was slain, for they were both threatned, and for no other cause, but that they were friends to the *English*, and serviceable to them. On which it was thought meet

meet to vindicate their Messengers, and not to suffer them to be thus wronged, and it was concluded to send some men to *Namassaket* well armed, and to fall upon them: whereupon fourteen men being well prepared were sent, under the conduct of Captain *Miles Standish*, who when they came thither beset the house, and the said Captain entred into the same to look for the said *Corbitant*, but he was fled, and so they missed of him; but understood that *Squanto* was alive; so they withheld, and did no hurt, save three of the *Natives* pressing out of the house when it was beset, were sorely wounded; which they brought home to their Town with them, and were dressed by their Chirurgion, and cured.

After this they had many Congratulations from divers *Sachems*, and much firmer peace, yea those of the Isle of *Capewak* sent to make friendship with them, and this *Corbitant* himself used the mediation of *Massasoit* to make his peace, but was shie to come near them a long time after.

After this, on the eighteenth of *September* they sent out their Boat to the *Massachusetts* with ten men, and *Squanto* for their Interpreter, to discover and view that Bay, and to trade with the *Natives*; and found kinde entertainment with them, who expressed themselves to be much afraid of the *Tarateens*, a people in the Eastern part of *New-England*, which used to come in Harvest time and take away their corn, and many times kill some of their people; who after they had accomplished their business, returned in safety, and made report of the place, wishing they had been there seated. But the Lord who assigns to all men the bounds of their habitations, had appointed it for another end and use.

And thus they found the Lord to be with them in all their wayes, and to bleſs their out-goings and in-comings: for which let his holy Name have the praise for ever.

Being now well recovered in respect of health (as hath been said) they began to fit up their buildings against winter, and received in their first harvest, and had great plenty of fowl and fish, to their great refreshing.

About

About the ninth of *November* came in a small ship to them unexpected, in which came Mr. *Robert Cushman*, who was both a godly man and an active and faithful agent, and useful instrument in the common interest of this first design; and there came with him in that ship, thirty five persons, to remain and live in the Plantation: which did not a little rejoyce the first planters. And these when they came on shore, and found all well, and saw plenty of provisions beyond their expectation, were also satisfied and no less glad: for coming in at *Cape Cod* before they came to *Plimouth*, and seeing nothing there but a barren place; they then began to think what should become of them, if the People were dead or cut off by the *Indians*; and began to consult upon some passages, which some of the Seamen had cast out, to take the Sails from the Yard, lest the ship should get away and leave them: but the Master hearing thereof, gave them good words, and told them, *If any thing but well should have befallen the People at Plimouth, he hoped he had provisions enough to carry them to Virginia, and while he had any they should have their part*; which gave them good satisfaction.

This ship was called the Fortune, in which came no Provisions, which was one cause of a great famine that befell the Plantation of New-Plimouth soon after.

This ship stayed at *Plimouth* not above fourteen dayes, and returned; and soon after her departure, the People called the *Narrhagansetts* afore said, sent a messenger unto the Plantation, with a bundle of Arrows, tyed together with a Snakes skin, which their Interpreter *Squanto* told them was a threatening and a challenge; upon which the Governour of *Plimouth* sent them a rough answer, (*viz.*) *That if they loved war rather then peace, they might begin when they would, they had done them no wrong, neither did they fear them, or should they finde them unprovided*: and by another Messenger sent the Snakes skin back again with Bullets in it, but they would not receive it, but sent it back again. It is probable the reason of this their Message to the *English*, was their own ambition, who since the death of so many *Indians*, thought to domineer and lord it over the rest, and conceived the *English* would be a barre in their way, and saw that *Massasoiet* took shelter already under their wings; but this made the *English* more carefully to look to themselves,

so as they agreed to close their Dwellings with a good strong Pale, and made Flankers in convenient places, with Gates to shut, which were every night locked, and a Watch kept, and when need required there was also Warding in the day time; and the Company was by the Governour and Captains advice, divided into four Squadrons, and every one had their quarter appointed them, unto which they were to repair: and if there should be any cry of *Fire*, a Company was appointed for a Guard with Muskets, whiles others quenched the Fire; the same to prevent *Indian* Treachery. And herewith I shall end the Passages of this Year.

I 6 2 2.

AT the Spring of this Year (the *English* having certified the *Indians* of the *Massachusetts* that they would come again unto them) they accordingly prepared to go thither; but upon some rumours which they heard from *Hobamak* their friend fore-named, who feared that the *Massachusetts* were joyned with the *Narrhagansets*, and might betray them if they were not careful; and intimated also his jealousies of *Squanto*, by what he gathered from some private whisperings between him and other *Indians*, that he was not really cordial to the *English* in what he pretended, made them cautelous. Notwithstanding, they sent out their Boat with ten of their principal men about the beginning of *April*, and both *Squanto* and *Hobamak* with them, in regard of the jealousy between them: but they had not been gone long, ere that an *Indian* belonging to *Squanto*'s family came running, seeming to be in great fear, and told them that many of the *Narrhagansets*, with *Corbitant*, (and he thought *Massasoiet*) was coming against them: At which they betook them to their Arms, and supposing that the Boat was not as yet out of call, they caused a Piece of Ordnance to be discharged, to call them in again: But this proved other-

otherwise, for no *Indians* came. After this they went to the *Massachusetts*, and had good Trade, and returned in safety, God be praised.

But by the former passages and things of like nature, they began to see that *Squanto* sought his own ends, and played his own game, by putting the *Indians* in fear, and drawing gifts from them to enrich himself; making them believe he could stir up war against them when he would, and make peace for them when he would; yea he made them believe, that the *English* kept the Plague buried in the ground; and could send it amongst whom they would, which did much terrifie the *Indians*; and made them more depend on him, and seek more to him then to their great Sachem *Massasoiet*; which procured him envy, and had like to have cost him his life: for after the discovery of these practises, the said *Massasoiet* sought it both privately and openly; which caused him to stick close to the *English*, and never after durst go from them until his death. They also made good use of the emulation that grew between *Hobamack* and him, which made them both carry more squarely; and the Governour seemed to countenance the one, and their Captain the other; by which they had the better intelligence, and it made them both the more diligent.

This was said to be a barrel of Gun-powder buried in the ground.

About the latter end of *May* they espied a vessel at sea, which at the first they thought to be a *French-man*, but it proved one that belonged to Mr. *Thomas Weston* a Merchant; which came from a ship which he and another had sent out on fishing to a place called *Damarcls Cove*, in the Eastern parts of *N. E.* this boat brought seven men, and some letters, but no provisions to them, of which they were in continual expectation from *England*, which expectations were frustrated in that behalf; for they never had any supply to any purpose after this time, but what the Lord helped them to raise by their industry amongst themselves: for all that came afterwards was too short for the passengers that came with it.

After this the same year, the above-named Mr. *Thomas Weston*, who had formerly been one of the Merchant-adventurers

The one named
the Sparrow,
the other the
Charity.

turers to the Plantation of *New-Plimouth* (but had now broken off and deserted the general concerns thereof) sent over two ships on his own particular interest; in the one of them came sixty lusty men, who were to be put on shore at *Plimouth*, for the ship was to go with other passengers to *Virginia*; these were courteously entertained (with the seven men fore-named belonging to the said *Weston*, at *Plimouth* aforesaid) until the ship returned from *Virginia*, which was the most part of that Summer; many of them being sick, and all of them destitute of habitation, and unacquainted with this new beginning: at the ships return from *Virginia*, by the direction of the said Mr. *Weston* their Master, or such as he had set over them, they removed into the *Massachusetts Bay*, he having got a Patent for some part there, yet they left all their sick folk at *Plimouth*, until they were settled and fitted for housing to receive them: These were an unruly company, and had no good government over them, and by disorder fell into many wants, as afterwards will appear.

But before I pass on, I may not omit the mentioning of a courteous Letter that came in the vessel above-named, in which the above-said seven men came, being directed to the Governour of *Plimouth*, with respect unto the whole *Plantation*, from a Captain of a ship at the Eastward, who came thither on a fishing voyage; the which for the ingenuity of the man, and his courtesie therein expressed, may not unfitly be here inserted, being inscribed as followeth.

To all his good Friends at *Plimouth*.

FRiends, Country-men and Neighbours, I salute you, and wish you all health and happiness in the Lord: I make bold with these few lines to trouble you, because, unless I were inhumane, I can do no less. Bad news doth spread it self too far, yet I will so far inform, that my self with many good friends in the South Colony of *Virginia* have received such a blow, that four hundred persons large will not make good our losses. Therefore I do intreat you, although
not

not knowing you, that the old rule which I learned when I went to school, may be sufficient, what is, happy is he who other mens harms doth make to beware; and now again and again, wishing all those that willingly would serve the Lord, all health and happiness in this World, and everlasting peace in the World to come:

I rest, yours

JOHN HUDSTON.

In the same Vessel the Governour returned a thankful Answer, as was meet, and sent a Boat of their own with them, which was piloted by them; in which Mr. *Edward Winslow* was sent to procure what Provisions he could of the Ship, who was kindly received by the aforesaid Gentleman, who not onely spared what he could, but wrote to others to do the like: by which means the Plantation had a good quantity of Provisions.

Although this was not much amongst them all, yet it was a very seasonable blessing and supply, they being now in a low condition for want of food.

This Summer they built a Fort with good Timber, both strong and comely, which was of good defence, made with a flat Roof, and Battlements; on which Fort their Ordnance were mounted, and where they kept constant Watch, especially in time of danger: It served them also for a Meeting-house, and was fitted accordingly for that use. It was a great Work for them to do in their weakness, and times of want; but the danger of the time required it, there being continual rumours of the *Indians*, and fears of their rising against them, especially the *Narrhagansets*; and also the hearing of that great and sad Massacre in *Virginia* above-named.

It may not here be omitted, that notwithstanding all their great pains and industry, and the great hopes they had of a large Crop, the Lord seemed to threaten them with more and forer Famine by a great Drought, which continued from the third week in *May*, untill the middle of *July*, without any Rain, and with great heat of Weather for the most part, insomuch as their Corn began to wither away, although it was planted

with Fish, according to their usual manner in those times; yet at length it began to languish fore, and some of the dryer grounds was parched like withered Hay, part whereof was never recovered. Upon which they set apart a solemn Day of Humiliation, to seek the Lord by humble and fervent Prayer in this great distress: and he was pleased to give them a gracious and speedy answer, both to their own and the *Indians* admiration that lived amongst them; for all the morning, and greatest part of the day, it was clear weather, and very hot, and not a Cloud nor any sign of Rain to be seen, yet towards evening it began to overcast, and shortly after to Rain, with such sweet and gentle showers, as gave them cause of rejoycing and blessing God: it came without either Wind or Thunder, or any violence, and by degrees in that abundance, as that the Earth was thoroughly wet, and soaked therewith, which did so apparently revive and quicken the decayed Corn and other Fruits, as was wonderful, and made the *Indians* astonished to behold. A little before the Lord sent this Rain of Liberalities upon his people, one of them having occasion to go to the house of the afore-named *Hobamak* the *Indian*, he the said *Hobamak* said unto him, *I am much troubled for the English, for I am afraid they will lose all their Corn by the Drought, and so they will be all starved; as for the Indians, they can shift better then the English, for they can get Fish to help themselves.* But afterwards the same man having occasion to go again to his house, he said to him, *Now I see that the English-mans God is a good God, for he hath heard you, and sent you Rain, and that without Storms, and Tempests, and Thunder, which usually we have with our Rain, which breaks down our Corn, but your stands whole and good still; surely your God is a good God: or with words to the like effect.*

The person that made this Relation is still surviving, and a principal man in the Jurisdiction of New-Plimouth.

And after this gracious return of Prayers in this so seasonable a blessing of the Rain, the Lord sent them such seasonable showers, with interchange of warm weather, as (through his blessing) caused in its time a fruitful and liberal Harvest, to their great Comfort and Rejoycing: for which Mercy, in
time

time convenient, they also solemnized a Day of Thanksgiving unto the Lord.

Now the welcome Harvest approached, in the which all had some refreshment, but it arose but to a little in comparison of a whole years supply; partly by reason they were not yet well acquainted with the manner of the Husbandry of the *Indian* Corn, (having no other) and also their many other Employments; but chiefly their weakness for want of food, so as to appearance Famine was like to ensue, if not some way prevented: Markets there was none to go unto, but onely the *Indians*; but they had no Trading-stuff. But behold now another Providence of God; A Ship came into the Harbour, one Captain *Jones* being chief in her, set out by some Merchants to discover all the Harbours between *Cape Cod* and *Virginia*, and to Trade along the Coast. This Ship had store of *English* Beads, (which were then good trade) and some Knives, but would sell none but at dear rates, and also a good quantity together; yet they were glad of the occasion, and fain to buy at any rate: they were fain to give after the rate of *Cent. per Cent.* if not more, and yet pay away Coat-Beaver at three shillings per pound. By this means they were fitted again to trade for Beaver and other things, and so procured what Corn they could.

Another good providence of God tending to their relief.

But here let me take liberty to make a little digression: There was in the Ship sent by Mr. *Weston* fore-named (in which his Men came) a Gentleman named Mr. *John Porey*, he had been Secretary in *Virginia*, and was now going home Passenger in this Ship. After his departure he wrote a Letter to the Governour of *Plimouth*, in the Postscript whereof he hath these expressions following:

"To your self and Mr. Brewster I must humbly acknowledge
 "my self many wayes indebted, whose Books I would have you
 "think very well bestowed, who esteems them such Jewels. My
 "haste would not suffer me to remember, much less to beg Mr.
 "Ainsworths elaborate Work on the five Books of Moses; both
 "he and Mr. Robinsons do highly commend the Authors, as being
 "most

"most conversant in the Scriptures of all others: and what good
 "who knows it may please God to work by them through my hands,
 "though most unworthy, who finde such high content in them. God
 "have you all in his keeping.

August 28.
 1622.

Your unfeigned and firm Friend,

JOHN POREY.

These things I here insert, partly for the honours sake of the Authors memory, which this Gentleman doth so ingenuously acknowledge, and also the credit and good that he procured unto the Plantation of *Plimouth* after his return, and that amongst those of no mean Rank. But to return.

Now by the English called
 Weymouth.

Mr. *Westons* people fore-named, who were now seated in the Bay of the *Massachusetts*, at a place called by the *Indians* *Wesagwaset*, and by disorder (as it seemed) had made havock of their Provision, they began now to conceive that want would come upon them; and hearing that their Neighbours at *Plimouth* had bought Trading-stuff, as aforesaid, and intended to Trade for Corn, they wrote to the Governour, and desired that they might joyn with them, and they would imploy their small Ship in this service; and also requested to lend or sell them so much of their Trading-stuff as their part might come to: which was agreed unto on equal terms; so they went out in the Expedition, with an intention to go about *Cape Cod* to the Southwards, but meeting with cross Winds, and other Crosses, went in at *Mannamoik*, where the aforesaid *Squanto*, being their Guide and Interpreter, fell sick, and within a few dayes died: A little before his death, he desired the Governour of *Plimouth* (who then was there) to pray for him, that he might go to the English-mans God in Heaven; and bequeathed divers of his things to sundry of his *English* Friends, as Remembrances of his love: of whom they had a great loss.

Squanto's
 Death.

Here they got a considerable quantity of Corn, and so returned.

turned. After these things *John Sanders*, who was left chief over Mr. *Westons* men at *Wesagusquaset*, in the Month of *February* sent a Messenger, shewing the great wants they were fallen into, and would have borrowed Corn of the *Indians*, but they would lend him none; and desired advice whether he might take it from them by force to succour his men, untill return from the Eastward, whither he was now going: But the Governour and the rest dissuaded him by all means from it, for it might so exasperate the *Indians*, as might endanger their safety, and all of them might smart for it: for they had already heard how they had wronged the *Indians*, by stealing their Corn, &c. so as the Natives were much incensed against them: yea, so base were some of their own Company, as they went and told the *Indians*, that their governour was purposed to come and take their Corn by force, which with other things made them enter into a Conspiracy against the *English*. And herewith I end the Relation of the most Remarkable Passages of Gods Providence towards the first Planters, which fell out in this Year.

1 6 2 3.

MR. *Westons* people fore-named, notwithstanding all helps they could procure for supply of Provisions, fell into great Extremity, which was occasioned by their excessive expence while they had it, or could get it; and after they came into want, many sold away their Clothes and Bed-coverings; others were so base as they became servants to the *Indians*, and would cut them Wood, and fetch them Water for a Cap full of Corn; others fell to stealing both night and day from the *Indians*, of which they grievously complained. In the end they came to that misery, that some starved and died with hunger; and one in gathering of Shell-fish was so weak, as he stuck fast in the mud, and was found dead in the place; and

G

most

most of them left their Dwellings, and were scattered up and down in the Woods by the Water-side, where they could finde Ground-nuts and Clams, here six, and there ten, by which their carriages they became contemned and scorned of the *Indians*, insomuch as they began greatly to insult over them in a most insolent manner, so as if they had set on such Victuals as they had gotten to dress it, when it was ready the *Indians* would come and eat it up: and when Night came, when as possibly some of them had a sorry Blanket, or such like, to lap themselves in, the *Indians* would take it, and let the other lye all night in the cold, so as their condition was very lamentable; and in the end they were fain to hang one of their Company, whom they could not reclaim from stealing, to give the *Indians* content.

Whiles things went on in this manner with them, the Governour and People of *Plimouth* had notice that the Sachem *Massasoiet* their Friend was sick, and near unto death, and they sent to visit him, and sent him some comfortable things, which gave him content, and was a means of his recovery: Upon which occasion he discovered the Conspiracy of these *Indians*, how they were resolved to cut off Mr. *Westons* Company, for the continual Injuries they had done them, and would now take opportunity of their weakness, and do it; and for that end had conspired with other *Indians* their Neighbours thereabouts: and thinking the People here would revenge their death, they therefore thought to do the like by them, therefore to prevent it, and that speedily, by taking some of the chief of them before it was too late, for he assured them of the truth thereof.

* This mans name was *Phinehas Pratt*, who hath penned the particular of his perillous Journey, and som other things relating to this Tragedy.

This did much trouble them, and they took it into serious consideration, and found upon Examination, and other Evidences to give light thereinto, That the matter was really so as the said Sachem had told them. In the mean time came an * *English-man* from the *Massachusetts*, from the said Company in misery, as hath been above-related, with a small pack at his back; and although he knew not a foot of the way, yet he got

got safe hither, but lost his way, which was well for him, for he was pursued by two *Indians*, who by Gods Providence missed of him by that means; and he related how all things stood with them there, and that he durst stay no longer, for he apprehended by what he observed they would be all slain ere long. This made them make the more haste, and they dispatched a Boat away with some men under the conduct of Captain *Standish*, who found them in a miserable condition; out of which he rescued them, and helped them to some relief, cut off some of the chief Conspirators against them, and according to his Order offered to bring them all to *Plimouth*, to be there untill Mr. *Weston* came, or some other way should be presented for their help: they thanked him and the rest, but they rather desired that he would help them with some Corn, and they would go with their small Ship to the Eastward, to look out for a way for themselves, either to have relief by meeting with Mr. *Weston*, or if not to work with the Fishermen for their supply, and their passage for *England*: so they shipped what they had of any worth, and he helped them with as much Corn as he could, and saw them out of the Bay under sail, and so came home, not taking the worth of a peny of any of them.

This was the end of these, that sometimes boasted of their strength, being all able, lusty men, and what they would do and bring to pass, in comparison of the people at *Plimouth*, who had many Women and Children, and weak ones; and said at their first arrival, when they saw the wants at *Plimouth*, That they would take another course, and not fall into such a condition as this simple people were come to: but a mans way is not in his own power, God can make the weak to stand: Let him that thinketh he standeth (in such respect as well as other) take heed lest he fall.

Here see the
effect of Pride
and Vain-glory.

Shortly after Mr. *Weston* came over with some of the Fishermen, where he heard of the Ruine of his Plantation, and got a Boat, and with a man or two came to see how things were; but by the way (for want of skill) in a Storm he cast away his Boat in the bottome of the Bay, between *Merrimack* and

Pascataqua, and hardly escaped with life; and afterwards fell into the hands of the *Indians*, who pillaged him of all that he had saved from the Sea, and stripped him of all his Clothes to his Shirt. At last he got to *Pascataqua*, and borrowed a Suit of Clothes, and got means and came to *Plimouth*: A strange alteration there was in him, to such as had seen and known him in his former flourishing condition; so uncertain are all things of this uncertain world.

But to return to the state and condition of the Planters at *Plimouth*, all this while no supply heard of, so they began to think how they might raise as much corn as they could, so as they might not languish in misery as formerly they had done, and at the present they did, and it was thought the best way, and accordingly given way unto, that every one should plant Corn for his own particular, and in that regard provide for themselves, and in other respects continue the general course and way as before: & so they ranged all their youth under some family, and set upon such a course, which had good success, for it made all hands very industrious, so as much Corn was planted.

This course being settled, by that time all their Corn was planted, all their victuals was spent, and they were only to rest on Gods providence; many times at night, not knowing where to have any thing to sustain nature the next day, and so (as one well observed) had need to pray that God would give them their daily bread, above all people in the world; yet they bare those wants with great patience and alacrity of spirit, and that for so long a time as the most part of two years.

In his first Decade, p 208

Which brings to minde what *Peter Martyr* writes in magnifying of the *Spaniards*; *They* (said he) *led a miserable life for five dayes together, with parched grain of Maize only, and that not to satiety*; and then concludes, *that such pains, such labours, he thought none living, which is not a Spaniard, could have endured.*

But alas, those men when they had *Maize* (that is *Indian Corn*) they thought it as good as a feast; and wanted not only for five dayes together, but sometimes for two or three months together

together, and neither had bread, nor any kinde of corn.

Indeed in another place in his second Decade pag. 94. He mentions *how others of them were worse put to it, where they were faine to eat Dogs, Toads and dead Men, and so almost all of them died.* From these extremities the Lord in his goodnes preserved both their lives and healths, let his Holy Name have the praise; yet let me here make use of his conclusion, which in some sort may be applied to this people; *That with their miseries they opened a way to those new lands: and after storms with what ease other men came to inhabit in them, in respect of the calamities these men suffered, so as they seemed to go to a bride feast where all things are provided for them.*

They having one boat left, and three none of the best, with a net which they bought, improved them for the taking of Basse, which proved a good help to them, and when those failed they were faine all hands to go dig shell-fish out of the sands for their living; in the winter season ground-nuts and fowl was the principal of their refreshing, until God sent more settled and suitable supplies, by his blessing upon their industry.

At length they received some letters from the adventurers, which gave them intelligence of a ship set out, to come hither unto *Plimouth*; named the *Parragon*; This ship was bought by Mr. *John Pierce*; and set out on his own charge, upon hopes of great matters; the passengers and goods, the Company sent in her he took in for freight; for which they agreed with him to be delivered here: this was he in whose name their first Patent was taken, for this place where *Plimouth* is; by reason of acquaintance and some allyance that some of their friends had with him, but his name was only used in trust; but when he saw they were here hopefully seated, and by the success God gave them, had obtained the favour of the Council of *New-England*, he goes & sues to the said Council for another Patent of much larger extent in their names, which was easily obtained, but he meant to keep it to himself; and to allow them what he pleased to hold of him as tenants, and sue to his Courts as chief Lord: but the Lord marvelously crossed him in his proceedings.

ceedings; for when his ship above-named set out from the *Thames*, she sprang a leak by that time she got to the *Downs*, and also by reason of a chop that accidentally befel one of her Cables, it brake in a stress of wind while she there rode, and was in danger to have bin driven on the sands, and thereupon was constrained to return back to *London*, and there arrived in fourteen dayes after, and was haled up into the Dock, and an hundred pound more bestowed on her to mend her leaks and bruises, which she received in the aforesaid storm; and when she was again fitted for the voyage, he pestered his ship, and takes in more passengers, and those some of them not very good, to help to bear his losses, and sets out the second time; and when he was half way or thereabouts to *New-England* was forced back again by an extreme tempest, wherein the goodness and mercy of God appeared in their preservation, being one hundred and nine souls. This ship suffered the greatest extremity at sea, at her second setting forth, as is seldome the like heard of; It was about the middle of *February* that the storm began, and it continued for the most part of fourteen dayes, but for two or three dayes and nights together in most violent extremity: at the beginning of the storm, their boat being above-decks, was thrown over-board; they spent their Main-mast, their Round-house was beaten off with the storm, and all the upper works of their ship: he that stood to give direction, for the guiding of her before the sea, was made fast, to prevent his washing over-board, and the seas did so over-rake them, as that many times those upon the deck, knew not whether they were within-board or without; and by her extreme leaking, being a very rotten ship, and the storm increasing, she was once very near foundering in the sea, so as they thought she would never rise again: Notwithstanding the Lord was pleased of his great mercy to preserve them; and after great weather-beating and extraordinary danger, they arrived safe at *Portsmouth* in *Hampshire*, to the wonderment of all that beheld in what condition they were, and heard what they had endured.

Upon the return of the said Mr. *John Pierce* for *England*;
(he

*This Relation
was made by
Mr William
Pierce the
Master of the
said ship, and
some of the pas-
sengers of good
credit.*

(he being personally in this his ship in the so sad storm) the other Merchant Adventurers, got him to assign over the grand-Patent to the Company, which he had taken in his own Name, and made quite void their former Patent.

About the latter end of *June*, came in a ship at *Plimouth* with Captain *Francis West*, who had a Commission to be Admiral of *New-England*, to restrain Interlopers, and such fishing ships as came to fish and trade without licence from the Council of *New-England*, for which they should pay a great sum of money; but he could do no good of them, for they were too strong for him, and he found the fishermen to be refractory, and their owners upon complaint made to the Parliament, procured an order, that fishing should be free. He told the Governour of *Plimouth* that they spake with a ship at sea, and were on board her, that was coming to the said Plantation of *Plimouth*, in which were sundry passengers; and they marvelled she was not arrived, fearing some miscarriage; for they lost her in a storm that fell shortly after they had been on board: which relation filled them full of fears, yet mixed with hope. The Master of this ship had two Hogsheads of Pease to sell, but seeing their wants, held them at Nine pounds *sterling* an Hogshead, and under Eight he would not take, and yet would have Beaver at an under-rate; but they told him *they had lived so long without, and would do still, rather then give so unreasonably*: so the said Ship went from *Plimouth* to *Virginia*. *This was the ship called the Paragon asore-said.*

About fourteen dayes after came in the Ship called *The Ann*, whereof Mr. *William Pierce* was Master: two of the principal Passengers that came in this Ship were Mr. *Timothy Hatherly*, and Mr. *George Morton*; the former, viz. Mr. *Timothy Hatherly*, soon after his arrival met with some cross Providences by the burning of his House; whereby he was much impoverished, and much discouraged, and returned the Winter following for *England*: and afterwards the Lord was pleased to renew his Estate, and he came again into *New-England*, and proved a very profitable and beneficial Instrument both in Church and Common-wealth, being one of the first beginners,
and

and a good Instrument to uphold the Church and Town of *Situate*; and also served God and the Jurisdiction of *Plimouth* in the place of Magistracy, and retained his Integrity in the Profession of the wayes of Christ unto old Age; still surviving at the penning hereof.

The latter of the two fore-named, viz. Mr. *George Morton*, was a pious gracious Servant of God, and very faithful in whatsoever publick Employment he was trusted withall, and an unfeigned well-willer, & according to his Sphere and Condition, a futable Promoter of the Common Good and Growth of the Plantation of *New-Plimouth*, labouring to still the Discontents that sometimes would arise amongst some spirits, by occasion of the Difficulties of these new beginnings: but it pleased God to put a period to his dayes soon after his arrival in *New-England*, not surviving a full year after his coming ashore. With much comfort and peace he fell asleep in the Lord in the Month of *June*, Anno 1624.

About ten dayes after the arrival of the Ship called *The Ann* above-named, there came in another small Ship of about forty four Tun, named the *James*, Mr. *Bridges* being Master thereof; which said Ship, the *Ann* had lost at Sea by reason of foul Weather: she was a fine new Vessel, built to stay in the Country. One of the principal Passengers that came in her was Mr. *John Jenny*, who was a godly, though otherwise a plain man, yet singular for publickness of spirit, setting himself to seek and promote the Common Good of the Plantation of *New-Plimouth*; who spent not onely his part of this Ship (being part Owner thereof) in the general Concernment of the Plantation, but also afterwards was alwayes a Leading-man in promoting the general Interest of this Colony: He lived many years in *New-England*, and fell asleep in the Lord Anno 1644. In the two Ships last named, came over many other persons besides those before recited, who proved of good use in their places.

These Passengers, seeing the low and poor condition of those that were here before them, were much daunted and dismayed, and

and according to their diverse humours, were diversly affected. Some wished themselves in *England* again; others fell on weeping, fancying their own misery in what they saw in others; other-some pitying the distress they saw their Friends had been long in, and still were under. In a word, all were full of sadness; onely some of their old Friends rejoiced to see them, and that it was no worse with them, for they could not expect it should be better, and now hoped they should enjoy better dayes together. And truly it was no marvel they should be thus affected, for they were in a very low condition, both in respect of Food and Clothing at that time.

To consider seriously how sadly the Scripture speaks of the Famine in *Jacobs* time, when he said to his Sons, *Go, buy us food, that we may live and not die*; and that *the Famine was great and heavy in the Land*, and yet they had great Herds, and store of Cattel of sundry kindes, which besides their flesh, must needs produce other useful benefits for food, and yet it was accounted a sore affliction: But the misery of the Planters at *Plimouth* at the first beginning, must needs be very great therefore, who not onely wanted the *staff of Bread*, but all the benefits of Cattel, and had no *Egypt* to go to, but God fed them out of the Sea for the most part; so wonderful is his powerful Providence over his in all Ages: *for his Mercy endureth for ever.*

About the middle of *September* arrived Captain *Robert Gorges* in the Bay of the *Massachusetts*, with sundry Passengers and Families, intended there to begin a Plantation, and pitched upon that place which Mr. *Weston* fore-named had forsaken. He had a Commission from the Council of *New-England* to be General Governour of the Country: and they appointed for his Council and Assistants, Captain *Francis West* the aforesaid Admiral, *Christopher Lever* Esq; and the Governour of *Plimouth* for the time being: Also they gave him Authority to Choose such other as he should finde fit. Also they gave by their Commission full Power to him and his Assistants, or any three of them, (*whereof himself was alwayes to be one*) To do and execute
H what

what to them should seem good, in all Cases, Capital, Criminal, and Civil; with divers other Instructions: Of which, and his Commission, it pleased him to suffer the Governour of Plimouth to take a Copy.

He meeting with the aforesaid Mr. *Weston* at *Plimouth*, called him before him and some other of the Assistants, with the Governour of *Plimouth* aforesaid, and charged him with the ill carriage of his Men at the *Massachusetts*, by which means the peace of the Country was disturbed, and himself and the people which he had brought over to plant in that Bay, thereby much prejudiced. To which the said *Weston* easily answered, That what was done in that behalf, was done in his absence, and might have befallen any man: He left them sufficiently provided, and conceived they would have been well governed, and for any error committed, he had sufficiently smarted.

The said Mr. Tho: *Weston* was a man of parts, and a Merchant of good account in London. Sometime after these passages he went for England, and died in the City of *Bristol*; he proved but a *Classe* of Reed to the Plantation of *Plimouth*.

Another particular was, An abuse done to his father *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, and to the State. The thing was this: He used him and others of the Council of *New-England*, to procure him a License for the Transporting of many great Pieces of Ordnance for *New-England*, pretending great Fortification here in the Country; for which when he had obtained, he sold them beyond Sea for his private profit: At which the State was much offended, and his Father suffered a shrewd check, and he had Order to apprehend him.

The said *Weston* excused it as well as he could, but could not wholly deny it: but after much speech about it, by the Mediation of the Governour of *Plimouth*, and some other Friends, the said Captain *Gorges* was inclined to gentleness, (though he apprehended the abuse of his Father deeply) which when the said *Weston* perceived, he grew the more presumptuous, and gave such cutting and provoking speeches, as made the said Captain rise up in great indignation and distemper, vowing, That he would either curb him, or send him home for England: At which the said *Weston* was daunted, and came privately to the Governour of *Plimouth*, to know whether they would suffer him to send him for England? It was answered him, They could not hinder

binder it: and much blamed him, that after they had pacified things, he should thus break out by his own folly and rashness, and bring trouble upon himself and others. He confest *it was his passion*, and prayed the Governour aforesaid *to intreat for him, and procure a pacification for him, if he could*: the which at last he did obtain with much difficulty. So he was called again, and the said Captain *Gorges* was content to take his own Bond to be ready to make further answer, when either he or the Lords of the Council should send for him; and at last he took onely his own Word, and so there was a friendly parting on all hands.

Soon after this, the said Captain *Gorges* took his leave, and went to the *Massachusetts* by land, being very thankful for his kinde Entertainment. His Ship layed at *Plimouth*, and fitted for to go to *Virginia*, having some Passengers to deliver there: and with her returned fundry of those from *Plimouth*, which came over on their particular account; some out of discontent and dislike of the Country, and others by reason of Fire that burnt their Houses and all their Provisions, so as they were necessitated thereunto. This Fire was by some of the Seamen, that were Roystering in an House where it first began, making a great Fire, the weather being cold, which brake out of the Chimney into the Thatch, and burnt three Houses, and consumed all their Goods and Provisions. The House in which it began, was right against their Store-house at *Plimouth*, which they had much ado to save; in which was the Common Store of the Provisions of the Plantation, which had it been lost, the same had been overthrown: but through Gods mercy it was saved, by the diligence of the people, and care of the Governour and those about him. Some would have had the Goods thrown out, but if they had, there would have been much lost by the rude Company belonging to the two fore-named Ships, which were almost all on shore at this time; but a trusty Company were placed within, as well as such as were mean-while employed in quenching the Fire without, that if necessity required they might have them all out with speed: for they

*This was on the
fifth of No-
vember 1624.*

A very remarkable
Preservation.

suspected some malicious dealing, if not plain Treachery; and whether it was onely suspected or no, God knows: but this is certain, that when the Tumult was greatest, there was a voice heard (but from whence it came is uncertain) that bade them *look well about them, for all were not friends that were then about them*; and soon after, when the vehemency of the Fire was over, smoke was seen to arise within a Shed that was joyned to the end of the aforesaid Store-house, which was wattled up with boughs, in the withered leaves whereof the fire being kindled, which some running to quench, found a long Fire-brand of about an Ell long, lying under the wall on the inside, which could not comethither by casualty, but must belaid there by some hand, in the judgement of all that saw it. But God kept them from this danger, whatever might be intended.

But to return again to speak something of the aforesaid Captain *Gorges*, after he had been at the Eastward and expedited some occasions there, he and some that depended upon him returned for *England*, having scarcely saluted the Country in his Government, finding the state of things not to answer his quality and condition; his people dispersed themselves, some went for *England*, others for *Virginia*, some few remained, and were helped with supplies from *Plimouth*: amongst the rest, the said Captain brought over a Minister with him, one Mr. *Morrel*, who returned for *England* about a year after him, he took ship at *Plimouth*, and had a certain power and authority of superintendency over other Churches granted him, and instructions for that end; but he never shewed it, or made any use of it, but only spake of it to some of *Plimouth* at his going away. This was in effect the end of the second Plantation, in the aforesaid place called *Wesagusquaeset*.

There were also some scattering beginnings made in other places, as at *Pascataqua*, by Mr. *David Thompson*; and at *Monhegan*, and some other places, by sundry others.

1 6 2 4.

THe time of new Election of Officers being come for this year at *Plimouth*, the number of their people being increased, and their troubles and occasions therewith; the Governour desired them to change the persons, as well as renew the Election, and also to adde more Assistants to the Governour for help and counsel, and the better carrying on of publick affaires, shewing that it was necessary it should so be; for if it were any honour or benefit, it was fit that others should be made partakers of it; if it was a burden (as doubtless it was) it was but equal that others should help to bear it, and that this was the end of yearly Elections.

The conclusion was, that whereas there was before but one Assistant, they now chose five, giving the Governour a double voice; and afterwards they encreased them to seven, which course hath continued in that Colony until this day.

In the month of *March*, in this year Mr. *Edward Winslow* arrived at *Plimouth* in *New-England*, having bin employed as agent for that Plantation, on sundry occasions, with the Merchant Adventurers in *England*, who brought a considerable supply with him, the ship being bound on a fishing voyage; and with him came Mr. *John Lyford* a Minister, which was sent over by some of the Adventurers.

There came over likewise in this ship three Heifers and a Bull, which was the first Neat Cattel that came into *New-England*.

The first Neat Cattel that came to N.E.

The aforesaid *John Lyford*, when he came first on shore, saluted them of the Plantation of *Plimouth* with that reverence and humility, as is seldome to be seen; and indeed made them ashamed, he so bowed and cringed unto them, and would have kissed their hands if they would have suffered him: yea he wept and shed many tears, blessing God that had brought him to see their faces, and admiring the things they had done in their wants, as if he had been made all of love, and the humblest

Psal 10. 10.

Jer. 41. 6.

person in the World : but in the end proved more like those mentioned by the Psalmist, that crouched and bowed, that heaps of the poor may fall by them : or like unto dissembling *Ishmael*, who when he had slain *Gedaliah*, went out weeping, and met those that were coming to offer Incense in the house of the Lord, saying, *Come to Gedaliah*, when he meant to slay them. They gave him the best entertainment they could, in all simplicity, and as their Governour had used in all weighty affairs, to consult with their Elder Mr. *Bremster*, together with his Assistants ; so now he called Mr. *Lyford* also on such like occasions : after some short time, he desired to joyn himself a member to their Church, and was accordingly received ; he made a large confession of his Faith, and an acknowledgement of his former disorderly walking, and his being intangled with many Corruptions, which had bin a burden to his Conscience, and blessed God for this opportunity of freedome and liberty, with many more such like expressions ; in some short time he fell into acquaintance with Mr. *John Oldham*, who was a copartner with him in his after courses ; not long after, both *Oldham* and he grew very perverse, and shewed a spirit of great malignancy, drawing as many into a faction as they could : were they never so vile or prophane, they did nourish and abet them in all their doings, so they would but cleave to them, and speak against the Church : so as there was nothing but private meetings and whisperings amongst them, they feeding themselves and others, with what they should bring to pass in *England* by the faction of their * friends there ; which brought others as well as themselves into a fools Paradise, yet they could not carry so closely, but both much of their doings and sayings were discovered, although outwardly they set a fair face of things.

* That is, some of the Adventurers, who proved in the issue Adversaries to the Plantation.

At length, when the Ship he came in was ready to return for *England*, and it was observed that *Lyford* was long in writing, and sent many Letters, and could not forbear to communicate to his Intimates such things as made them laugh in their sleeves, and thought he had done their errand sufficiently: The Governour

vernour and some of his friends knowing how things stood in reference to some known adversaries in *England*, and what hurt these things might do, took a boat and went out with the ship, a league or two to sea, and called for all *Lyfords* and *Oldhams* Letters, Mr. *William Pierce* being Master of the ship, and knew well their evil dealings, (both in *England* and here) afforded them all the assistance he could; he found about twenty of *Lyfords* Letters, many of them large, and full of flanders and false accusations, tending not only to their prejudice, but ruine and utter subversion; most of them they let pass, only took copies of them, but some of the most material, they sent true copies of them and kept the originals, lest he should deny them, and that they might produce his own hand against him; amongst these Letters they found the copies of two Letters, which were sent in a Letter of his to Mr. *John Pemberton* a Minister, and a great opposite to the Plantation; these two Letters of which he took the copies, were the one of them written by a Gentleman in *England* to Mr. *Brewster* here, the other by Mr. *Winslow* to Mr. *Robinson* in *Holland*; at his coming away, as the ship lay at *Gravesend*, they lying sealed in the great Cabbin, whiles Mr. *Winslow* was busie about the affaires of the ship, this sly Merchant opens them, takes copies of them, and seals them up again, and not only seals the copies of them thus, *To his Friend and their Adversary*, but addes thereto in the Margent many scurrilous and flouting Annotations. In the evening the Governour returned, and they were somewhat blank at it; but after some weeks when they heard nothing, they then were as brisk as ever, thinking nothing had been known, but all was gone currant, and that the Governour went out but to dispatch his own Letters.

The reason why the Governour and the rest concealed these things, was to let things ripen, that they might the better discover their intents, and see who were their adherents; because among the rest, they found a Letter of one of their confederates, in which was written, that Mr. *Oldham*, and Mr. *Lyford* intended a reformation in Church and Common-wealth. and as soon as the

the ship was gone they intended to joyn together and have the Sacrament; few of *Oldhams* Letters were found in the afore-said search, being so bad a Scribe as his hand was scarce legible, yet he was as deep in the mischief as the other; and thinking they were now strong enough, they began to pick quarrels at every thing. *Oldham* being called to watch (according to order) refuseth to come, fell out with the Captain, called him *Rascall*, and *beggarly Rascall*, and resisted him, and drew his knife at him, though he offered him no wrong, nor gave him any ill terms, but with all fairness required him to do his duty; the Governour hearing the tumult, sent to quiet it; but he ranted with great fury, and called them all *Traitors*: but being committed to Prison, after a while he came to himself, and with some slight punishment was let go upon his behaviour for further Censure, but to cut things short, at length it grew to this issue, that *Lyford* with his accomplices, without either speaking one word either to the Governour, Church or Elder, withdrew themselves, and set up a publick meeting apart on the Lords-day, with sundry such insolent carriages too long here to relate, beginning more publickly to act that which they had been long plotting.

It was now thought high time to prevent further mischief, to call them to account; so the Governour called a Court, and summoned the whole company togher, and they charged *Lyford* and *Oldham* with such things as they were guilty of respecting the premises; but they were stiff, and stood resolutely upon the denial of most things, and required proof: they first alledged what was writ, compared with their practises here; that it was evident they joyned in plotting against them, and disturbed their peace in their Civil and Church-state, which was most injurious, for both they and all the world knew they came hither to enjoy the liberty of their Consciences, in the free use of Gods Ordinances, and for that end had ventured their lives, and passed through so much hardship hitherto, and they and their friends had born the charge of these beginnings, which was not small, and that he (*viz.*) *Lyford*, for his part was sent over on this charge,

charge, and both he and his great family was maintained on the same; and for him to plot against them, and seek their ruine, was most unjust and perfidious.

But *Lyford* denied, and made strange of sundry things laid to his charge. Then his Letters were produced, at which he was struck mute. *Oldham* began to be furious, and to rage, because they had intercepted their Letters, provoked the people to Mutiny in such words as these; *My Masters, where are your hearts? now shew your courage: you have often complained to me so and so, now is the time, if you will do any thing, I will stand by you, &c.* thinking that every one knowing his humour that had fooled & flattered him, or otherwise, or that in their Discontent uttered any thing unto him, would now side with him in open Rebellion: But he was deceived, for not a man opened his mouth, all were silent.

Then the Governour took pains in Convicting *Lyford* of his Hypocrisie and Treachery, in abusing his friends, in taking Copies of their Letters in an under-hand way, and sending them abroad to their disgrace, &c. and produced them, and his own Letters under his own Hand, which he could not deny, and caused them to be read before all the people; at which all his Confederates were blank, and had not a word to say. But after awhile he began to say, *That sundry had made some Complaints unto him, and informed him of divers things:* which being there present, and the particulars named to them, they denied.

Then they dealt with him about his Dissembling in the Church, and that he professed to concur with them in all things, and what a large Confession he had made at his admittance; and that he held not himself a Minister, till he had a new Calling, &c. and yet now he contested against them, and drew a Company apart, and sequestred himself, and would go about to administer the Sacraments by his former Calling, without ever acquainting them with it. In conclusion he was fully convicted, and burst out into tears, and confessed *he feared he was a Reprobate, his sins were so great, that he doubted that God would not pardon them, he was unsavoury salt, &c.* and that he

had so wronged them, as he could never make them amends; confessing all he had written against them was false and naught, both for matter and manner: And all this he did with as much fulness as words and tears could expresse.

After their Trial and Conviction, the Court sentenced them to be expelled the Plantation; *John Oldham* presently to depart, though his Wife and Family had liberty to stay all Winter, or longer, untill he could make provision to remove them comfortably. *Lyford* had liberty to stay six Months; it was with some eye to his release, if he carried himself well in the mean time, and that his Repentance proved sound. *Lyford* acknowledged his Censure was farre less then he deserved, and afterwards he confessed his sin publicly in the Church with tears, more largely then before. I shall here relate it as I finde it penned by some who took it from his own mouth as himself uttered it.

Acknowledging, That he had done very evil, and slanderously abused them; and thinking most of the people would take part with him, he thought to have carried all by violence and strong hand against them, and that God might justly lay innocent blood to his charge, for he knew not what hurt might have come by these his writings, and blessed God that they were stayed; and that he spared not to take knowledge from any of any evil that was spoken, but shut his eyes and ears against all the good; and that if God should make him a Vagabond in the earth, as was Cain, it was but just: and he confessed three things to be the causes of this his doings, Pride, Vain-glory, and Self-love: amplifying these Heads with many other expressions in the particulars of them, so as they began to conceive good thoughts of him upon his Repentance, and admitted him to teach amongst them as before; yea sundry tender-hearted persons amongst them were so taken with his signs of Sorrow and Repentance, as they professed they would fall upon their knees to have his Censure remitted and released. But that which made them all stand amazed in the end (and may do all others that shall come to hear the same, for a rarer president can scarcely be named) was, that after two Months
time

time all his former Confessions, Convictions, and publick Acknowledgements, both in the presence of God and his Church, and the whole Company, with so many Tears, and sad censures of himself, he should go again to justify what he had done; for secretly he wrote a second Letter to the Adventurers in England, in which he justified all his former Writings, save in some things which tended to their damage.

The Copy of this Letter is extant but too large to be here inserted.

I 6 2 5.

AT the time of their Election Court, *John Oldham* came again amongst them; and though it was a part of his Censure for his former Mutiny, *Not to return without leave first obtained*, yet he presumed without leave at all to come, being set on and hardened by the ill counsel of others; and not onely so, but suffered his unruly passion to run beyond the bounds and limits of all Reason and Modesty, insomuch that some strangers that were with him were ashamed of his outrage, and rebuked him: but all Reproofs were but as Oyl to the fire, and made the flame of his choller the greater. He called them all to naught in his fury, an hundred *Rebels* and *Traytors*: but in conclusion, they Committed him untill he was tamer, and then appointed a Guard of Musketeers, which he was to pass thorow, and every one was ordered to give him a blow on his Hinder-parts with the Butt-end of his Musket, and then he was conveyed to the Water-side, where a Boat was ready to carry him away, with this Farewell, *Go and mend your Manners.*

After the removal of his Family, he fell into some straights, and about a year after intended a Voyage to *Virginia*: and so it pleased God, that himself and sundry passengers being in the Barque, they were in great danger, so as they despaired of life, and fell to Prayer, and to Examination of their Hearts and Consciences, and confessed such sins as most burthened them;

and the said *John Oldham* did make a free and large Confession of the wrongs he had done to the Church and People at *Plymouth* in many particulars; that *as he had sought their Ruine, so God had now met with him, and might destroy him*; yea, he feared that they all fared the worse for his sake: He prayed God to forgive him, and made Vows, That if the Lord spared his life, he would become otherwise. This was reported by some of good Credit not long since living in the *Massachusetts Bay*, that were themselves partners in the same danger, which was on the Sholes of *Cape Cod*.

He was a man of parts, but high-spirited, and extremely passionate, which marred all in point of right improvement of them.

It pleased God to spare their lives, but they lost their voyage; and in time afterwards the said Mr. *John Olaham* carried himself fairly towards them, and acknowledged the hand of God to be with them, and seemed to have an honourable respect of them, and so far made his peace with them, as he had liberty to go and come at his pleasure, and in some time after went on trading in a small vessel amongst the *Indians*, and being weakly manned, upon some quarrel betwixt them, they slew him with an hatchet: this his death being one ground of the *Pegnot* war, of which afterwards in its proper place.

Esa. 7 15

The time being expired that Mr. *John Lyford* his Censure was to take place, he was so far from answering their hopes by amendment, as he had doubled his evil, as before-mentioned. But first behold the hand of God concerning him, wherein that of the *Psalmist* is verified, *he hath made a pit and digged it, and is fallen into the pit that he made*: he thought to bring shame and disgrace upon them, but instead of that, opens his own to all the world; for his wife who was a prudent sober woman, taking notice of his false and deceitful carriage about the premises, in grief of minde expressed her fears, that God would bring upon himself and his family, some sad judgement for these and other his wicked practises, and related that he had a *Bastard* by another woman, before marriage with her, which he denied to her with an oath, but it afterwards appeared to be so: and another miscarriage of the like nature, more odiouly circumstanced, was also discovered, for which he was forced to leave *Ireland*; and

and so came *New-England* to be troubled with him. Being banished hence, he went first to *Nantasket*, then to *Salem*, and after to *Virginia*, where he shortly after died.

I have been too tedious in my relating the plots of these wicked *Machavillians*: But to conclude, the Reader may take notice, that God observed and brought to nought their wicked devices, was a defence to the innocent, and caught them in the snares they privily layed for them, punishing one sin by another, until he had accomplished the freedom of his *Israel*, by the overthrow of his and their enemies; for which his mercy, let his holy Name be praised for ever more.

This storm thus blown over, yet sundry sad effects followed; for the company of the Merchant Adventurers brake in pieces hereupon, and the greatest part wholly deserted the Colony, but yet God took care of it; for although sundry of them fell off and adventured no more towards the support thereof, but rather proved manifest adversaries thereunto then otherwise: and the rest, partly because they were grown (some of them) low in their estates, and there being small hopes of returns to their expectations; although courteous in words and well wishes, yet afforded little or no help after this, so that the Plantation was faine to stand on their own legs, being indeed marvellously supported by the Lord, for it pleased him so to blest their endeavours, as that they raised great crops of *Indian Corn* (about this time) so as they had enough, and to spare, and began to have thoughts of improving part of it in a way of trading with the *Indians*, and having only two shallops, and no bigger vessels, they laid a deck on the one of them in the midships, to preserve the corn dry from weather, & so sent her laden with corn to a place call'd *Kenebek*, about fifty leagues off to the Eastwards: and notwithstanding they were strangers to the way, and place of trade, and to the people, and having no seamen to go with them, and at that season, being the latter end of the year and drawing on to winter, yet it pleased God to preserve them, and so to blest their endeavours, as that they returned in safety, and with good success, it being the first enterprize they achieved

in this kind (at least) so far, and it proved an inlet to a further trade, which was greatly beneficial to them afterwards.

800 weight of
Beaver, with
other Furs a
good quantity.

And here I may not omit the observable dispensation of Gods providence, respecting his dealing with the Adventurers fore-mentioned, in reference unto two ships they sent unto these parts about that time, on a fishing voyage only upon their own account, having left the Plantation to shift for themselves; one of these ships was a small one (*viz.*) the *James* forenamed, which was well laden with good *Cor fish*, and in her a great quantity likewise of *Beaver* and other furs, which was sent by the Plantation to the Adventurers, and returned for *England*: the other ship was also laden with good *dry fish*, and she also returned with her; being thus well freighted, they went together lovingly and joyfully away, the greater ship towing the lesser at her stern all the way over-board, and had such fair weather, as they never cast her off, till they were shot deep into the *English Chanel*, almost within sight of *Plimouth*, and yet there she was unhappily taken by a *Turks-man* of war, & carried into *Tally*, where the Master and Men were made Slaves, and many of the Beaver-skins were sold for four pence a piece. Thus were all their hopes dashed in this respect, and the joyfull News they went to carry home, turned into heavy Tidings. Some thought this a Hand of God for some unkindness shewed to the Plantation, by exaction upon them in reference to a parcel of goods they a little before had sent over to them on extreme Rates: But Gods Judgements are unsearchable, neither ought we to be too bold therewith. But however, it shews us the uncertainty of all humane things, and what little cause there is in joying in them, or trusting to them.

In the bigger of these Ships Captain *Miles Standish* went over as Agent in the behalf of the Plantation, in reference unto some particulars yet depending betwixt them and the Adventurers; as also to the Honourable Council of *New-England*: and notwithstanding some Difficulty he met with in his occasions, by reason of the Pestilence which was then so hot in the City of *London*, yet he accomplished his business so, as
he

he left things in a fair way for future Composition betwixt the said Merchant-Adventurers and the Plantation: and he spake also with some of the Honourable Council afore-named, who promised all helpfulness to the Plantation that lay in them. About this time it pleased the Lord likewise to give them peace, health, and good success on their endeavours, his holy Name be praised.

1 6 2 6.

About the beginning of *April*, they heard of Captain *Standish* his arrival, and sent a boat to fetch him home; welcome he was, but the news he brought was sad in many regards, not only in regard of the forementioned losses which their friends had suffered, and some of them dead of the *Plague*, but also that Mr. *John Robinson* their Pastor was dead, which struck them with much sorrow and sadness, as they had great cause: his and their adversaries, had been long and continually plotting, how they might hinder his coming into *New-England*, but now the Lord had appointed him to go a greater journey, at less charge, to a better place.

Mr. John Robinson's death.

But before I pass things concerning this Worthy Servant of Christ Mr. *John Robinson*, I shall here insert the honourable testimony that Mr. *William Bradford* senior hath left behinde him, concerning him, being greatly acquainted with his worth and excellency.

Saith he, *such was the mutual love and reciprocal respect that this worthy man had to his flock, and his flock to him, that it might be said of them, as it was once of that famous Emperour Marcus Aurelius and the people of Rome, That it was hard to judge whether he delighted more in having such a People, or they in having such a Pastor.* But to return.

Captain *Standish* likewise brought the sad news of the death of Mr. *Robert Cushman*, their ancient friend, whom the Lord took.

The death of Mr. Robert Cushman.

took away also this year (about the same time) who was as their right hand with their friends the Adventurers, and for divers years had done and agitated all their business with them to their great advantage, of whom occasionally there hath been honourable mention formerly made in this Book.

About this time they received divers Letters from their friends at *Leyden in Holland*, full of sad lamentation for their heavy loss by the death of their Pastor Mr. *Robinson* above-named; and although their wills were good to come over to their brethren in *New-England*, yet they saw no probability of means how it might be effected, but concluded (as it were) that all their hopes was cut off, and many being aged, began to drop away by death. All which things before related, being well weighed and laid together, it could not but strike them with great perplexity, and to look humanely on the state of things as they presented themselves at this time, it is a marvel it did not wholly discourage and sink them, but they gathered up their spirits, and the Lord so helped them (whose work they had in hand) as now when they were very low, they began to rise again; and being stripped (in a manner) of all humane helps and hopes, he brought things about otherwise in his divine Providence, so as they were not only upheld and sustained, but their proceedings both honoured and imitated by others, as by the sequel will appear.

I 6 2 7.

THis Year they sent Mr. *Isaac Allerton* for *England*, and gave him order to make a Composition with the Adventurers, in reference unto some particulars betwixt the Plantation and them, which Captain *Standish* had begun, as is before hinted, and at the ordinary season of the year (for the expectation of ships) he returned with some success in the business he was employed in.

Likewise

Likewise this Year they began to make some distribution of Lands, having had hitherto but to every person one Acre allowed him as to propriety, besides their Home-steads, or Garden-plots; the reason was that they might keep together, both for more safety and defence, and the better Improvement of the general Employments: which condition of theirs brings to minde that which may be read in *Pliny* of the *Romans* first beginnings in *Romulus* time, how every man contented himself with two Acres of Land, and had no more assigned them: and *Chap. 3.* *It was thought a great Reward to receive at the hands of the People of Rome a Pinte of Corn;* and long after, *the greatest Present given to a Captain that had got a Victory over their Enemies, was as much ground as he could Till in one day;* and he was not accounted a good, but a dangerous man, that would not content himself with seven Acres of Land; as also how they did pound their Corn in Mortars, as these people were forced to do many years before they could get a Mill.

*Pliny, lib. 18
Chap 2.*

Notwithstanding as abovesaid, so small a portion of Land served them at the first, yet afterwards for divers Reasons moving thereunto, they were necessitated to lay out some larger Proportions to each person; yet resolving to keep such a mean in distribution of Lands, as should not hinder their growth by others coming to them, and therefore accordingly allotted to every one in each Family Twenty Acres to be laid out, five Acres in breadth by the Water-side, and four Acres in length.

I may not omit the inserting of a particular that fell out this year, in reference unto a Ship with many Passengers in her, and some considerable goods, which was bound for *Virginia*, who had lost themselves at Sea, either by the insufficiency of the Master, or his illness (for he was sick, and lame of the *Scurvy*, so as he could but lye in the Cabbin-door and give direction, and (it should seem) was badly assisted either with Mate or Marriners) or else the fear of, and the unruliness of the Passengers was such, as they made them steer a Course between the Southwest and Northwest, that they might fall with some

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Land,

Land, whatever it was they cared not, for they had been six weeks at Sea and had no Beer, nor Water, nor Wood left, but had burnt up all their empty Cask, onely one of the Company had a Hogthead of Wine or two, which was also almost spent, so as they feared they should be starved at Sea, or consumed with Diseases, which made them run this desperate Course. But it pleased God, that although they came so near the Sholes of *Cape Cod*, or else ran stumbling over them in the night they knew not how, they came before a small Harbour that lieth about the middle of *Mannamoit Bay*, to the Southward of *Cape Cod*, and with a small gale of wind, and about a high water, touched upon a Barre of Sand that lieth before it, but had no hurt, the Sea being smooth so they laid out an Anchor; but towards Evening the wind sprang up at Sea, and was so rough as brake their Cable, and beat them over the Barre into the Harbour, where they saved their Lives and Goods: for although with much beating they had sprung a butt-end of a Plank, yet they soon got over, and ran upon a dry Flatt within the Harbour close to a Beach, and at a low water got out their Goods, and were not a little glad that they had saved their Lives. But when they had refreshed themselves, not knowing where they were, nor what to do, were much troubled, but soon after saw some *Indians* come towards them in Canoes, which made them stand upon their guard, but when they heard some of them speak *English*, they were not a little revived, especially when they heard them ask whether they were not the Governour of *Plimouths* Men, or Friends, and that they would bring them to the *English* houses, or carry their Letters: and when they had feasted these *Indians*, and given them many gifts, they sent two men and a Letter with them to the Governour of *Plimouth*, by which he had intelligence of their condition, and took order for their supply, they hoping by mending of their Ship to recover her to go to Sea again, and accordingly did mend her; but afterwards having but bad Moring, was put on shore again, and suffered so much shipwrack as she never got off more, but all the Company

pany were forced to repair to *Plimouth*, where they continued the best part of a year, being courteously entertained, and so were dispersed: The greatest part of them went to *Virginia*, and some remained in the Country. The chief amongst them were Mr. *Fells*, Mr. *Sibsey*, and the Masters Name was *Johnston* a Scotsman.

This Year the Plantation of *Plimouth* received Messages from the *Dutch* Plantation, sent unto them from the Governour there, written both in *Dutch* and *French*: The sum of the Letters forementioned were, To Congratulate the *English* here, taking notice of much that might engage them to a friendly Correspondency and good Neighbourhood, as, The propinquity of their Native Country, Their long continued Friendship, &c. and desired to fall into a way of some Commerce and Trade with them.

The Dutch had trading in these Southern parts divers years before the English came, but they began no Plantation until after the English came, and were here seated.

To which the Governour and Council of *Plimouth* returned answerable courteous acceptance of their loving Propositions, respecting their good Neighbourhood in general, and particularly for Commerce: And accordingly the *Dutch* not long after sent their Secretary Mr. *Isaac de Rosier* with Letters and goods, who laid the foundation of a Trade that continued between them many years after, to their mutual benefit. They also brought the *English* acquainted with the trading of *Wampam-peag*, untill then little known to us, nor esteemed by us, but was after of good valuation, and profitable. Although for the space of 20 years it was of great esteem amongst the Natives in divers parts of the Country, so as it made the *Indians* in these parts Rich, Proud and Powerful, yet untill they had store of it, they could not attain *English* Ammunition, but were fain to improve their own Artillery of Bowes and Arrows: But when as they learned to make store of *Wampam*, they furnished themselves with Guns, Powder and Shot, which no Laws can restrain, by reason of the baseness of sundry unworthy persons, both *English*, *Dutch* and *French*, which may turn to the ruine of many: for hitherto the *Indians* of these parts had no Pieces, nor other Arms but their Bowes and Arrows and Clubs,

nor of many years after; neither durst they scarce handle a Gun, though out of kelter, it was a terrour to them: but those *Indians* to the Eastern parts which had Commerce with the *French*, got Pieces of them, and they in the end made a common Trade of it; and in time our *English* Fishermen, led with the like Covetousness, followed their example for their own gain: but upon Complaint against them, it pleased the Kings Majesty to prohibit the same by a strict Proclamation, Commanding that no sort of Arms or Ammunition should by any of His Subjects be Traded with them.

1 6 2 8.

THIS Year died Mr. *Richard Warren*, who hath been mentioned before in this Book, and was an useful Instrument, and during his life bare a deep share in the Difficulties and Troubles of the first Settlement of the Plantation of *New-Plimouth*.

*This Gentle-
mans name is
here occasionally
used, & although
he came over in
year 1625. yet
these passages
in reference to
Morton, fell out
about this year,
and therefore
referred to this
place.*

Whereas about three years before this time there came over one Captain *Wollaston*, a man of considerable parts, and with him three or four more of some Eminency, who brought with them a great many Servants, with Provisions, and other Requisites for to begin a Plantation, and pitched themselves in a place within the *Massachusetts Bay*, which they called afterwards by their Captains Name, *Mount Wollaston*; which place is since called by the Name of *Braintry*. And amongst others that came with him, there was one Mr. *Thomas Morton*, who it should seem had some small Adventure of his own or other mens amongst them, but had little respect, and was slighted by the meanest Servants they kept. They having continued some time in *New-England*, and not finding things to answer their Expectation, nor Profit to arise as they looked for, the said Captain *Wollaston* takes a great part of the Servants, and transports them to *Virginia*, and disposed of them there, and writes back.

back to one Mr. *Rasdale*, one of his chief partners, (& accounted their Merchant) to bring another part of them to *Virginia* likewise, intending to put them off there, as he had done the rest; and he with the consent of the said *Rasdale*, appointed one whose Name was *Filcher* to be his Lieutenant, and to govern the remainder of the Plantation, untill he or *Rasdale* should take further order thereabout.

But the aforesaid *Morton* (having more craft then honesty) having been a *Petty-fogger* at *Furnivals Inne*; he in the others absence watches an opportunity (Commons being but hard among them) and got some strong drink, and other junkets, and made them a feast, and after they were merry, he began to tell them he would give them good Counsel: you see (saith he) that many of your fellows are carried to *Virginia*, and if you stay till untill *Rasdales* return, you will also be carried away and sold for slaves with the rest; therefore I would advise you to thrust out this Lieutenant *Filcher*, and I having a part in the Plantation, will receive you as my partners and confociates, so may you be free from service, and we will Converse, Plant, Trade and live together as equals (or to the like effect) This counsel was easily followed, so they took opportunity, and thrust Lieutenant *Filcher* out of doors, and would not suffer him to come any more amongst them, but forced him to seek bread to eat, and other necessities amongst his neighbours, till he could get passage for *England*.

See the sad Effects of the want of good Government.

After this they fell to great licentiousness of life, in all profaneness, and the said *Morton* became Lord of misrule, and maintained (as it were) a school of *Atheism*, and after they had got some goods into their hands, and got much by trading with the *Indians*, they spent it as vainly, in quaffing and drinking both Wine and strong Liquors, in great excess (as some have reported) Ten pounds worth in a Morning, setting up a *May-pole*, drinking and dancing about it, and frisking about it, like so many *Fairies* or *Furies* rather, yea and worse practises, as if they had anew revived and celebrated the feast of the *Romans* Goddess *Flora*, or the beastly practises of the mad *Bacchana-*

lians. The said *Morton* likewise to shew his Poetry, composed sundry Rhythmes and Verses, some tending to lasciviousness, and others to the detraction and scandal of some persons names, which he affixed to his Idle or Idol *May-pole*: they changed also the name of their place, and instead of calling it *Mount Wollaston*, they called it the *Merry Mount*, as if this jollity would have lasted alwayes. But this continued not long, for shortly after, that Worthy Gentleman Mr. *John Endicor*, who brought over a Patent under the Broad Seal of *England* for the Government of the *Massachusetts*, visiting these parts, caused that *May-pole* to be cut down, and rebuked them for their prophane-ness, and admonished them to look to it that they walked better, so the name was again changed, and called *Mount Dagon*.

Now to maintain this riotous Prodigality and profuse expence, the said *Morton* thinking himself lawless, and hearing what gain the Fishermen made of trading of Pieces, Powder and Shot; he as head of this consortship, began the practice of the same in these parts: and first he taught the *Indians* how to use them, to charge and discharge them, and what proportion of powder to give the Piece, according to the size or bigness of the same, and what shot to use for Fowl, and what for Deer: and having thus instructed them, he employed some of them to Hunt and Fowl for him; so as they became somewhat more active in that employment then any of the *English*, by reason of their swiftness of foot, and nimbleness of body, being also quick-sighted, and by continual exercise, well knowing the haunt of all sorts of game; so as when they saw the execution that a Piece would do, and the benefit that might come by the same, they became very eager after them, and would not stick to give any price they could attain to for them; accounting their Bows and Arrows but bables in comparison of them.

And here we may take occasion to bewail the mischief which came by this wicked man, and others like unto him; in that notwithstanding all laws, for the restraint of selling Ammunition to the *Natives*, that so far base covetousness prevailed, and doth still prevail, as that the *Salvages* become amply furnished with
Guns,

Guns, Powder, Shot, Rapiers, Pistols, and also well-skilled in repairing of defective Arms: yea some have not spared to tell them how Gun-powder is made, and all the materials in it, and that they are to be had in their own Land; and would (no doubt, in case they could attain to the making of *Salt-Peter*) teach them to make Powder: and what mischief may fall out unto the *English* in these parts thereby, let this pestilent fellow *Morton* (aforenamed) bear a great part of the blame and guilt of it to future Generations. But lest I should hold the *Reader* too long in the relation of the particulars of his vile actings; when as the *English* that then lived up and down about the *Massachusetts*, and in other places, perceiving the sad consequences of his trading, so as the *Indians* became furnished with the *English* Arms & Ammunition, and expert in the improving of them, and fearing they should at one time or another get a blow thereby; and also taking notice, that if he were let alone in his way, they should keep no servants for him, because he would entertain any how vile soever: Sundry of the chief of the stragling Plantations met together, and agreed by mutual consent to send to *Plimouth*, who were then of more strength to joyn with them, to suppress this mischief: who considering the particulars proposed to them to joyn together to take some course with him, and finding them weighty, agreed together to take some speedy course, to prevent (if it might be) the evil that was accreuing towards them; and resolved first to admonish him of his wickedness respecting the premises, laying before him the injury he did to their common safety, and that his acting concerning the same, was against the Kings Proclamation: but he insolently persisted on in his way, and said, *the King was dead, and his displeasure with him, and threatned them that if they came to molest him, they should look to themselves;* so that they saw there was no way but to take him by force: so they resolved to proceed in such a way, and obtained of the Governour of *Plimouth*, to send Captain *Standish* and some other aid with him, to take the said *Morton* by force, the which accordingly was done; but they found him to stand stiffly on his

his defence, having made fast his doors, armed his Conforts, set Powder and Shot ready upon the Table, scoffed and scorned at them, and he and his Complices being filled with strong drink, were desperate in their way: but he himself coming out of doors to make a shot at Captain *Standish*, he stepping to him, put by his Piece and took him, and so little hurt was done; and so he was brought Prisoner to *Plimouth*, and continued in durance until an opportunity of sending him for *England*, which was done at their common charge, and Letters also with him, to the honourable Council for *New-England*, and returned again into the Country in some short time, with less punishment then his demerits deserved (as was apprehended.)

The Year following he was again apprehended, and sent for *England*, where he lay a considerable time in *Exeter Goal*: for besides his miscarriage here in *New-England*, he was suspected to have murdered a man that had ventured monies with him, when he came first into *New-England*; and a warrant was sent over from the *Lord Chief Justice* to apprehend him, by virtue whereof, he was by the Governour of the *Massachusetts* sent into *England*, and for other of his misdemeanors amongst them in that Government, they demolished his House, that it might no longer be a roost for such unclean Birds: Notwithstanding he got free in *England* again, and wrote an Infamous and Scurrilous Book against many godly and chief men of the Country, full of lies and slanders, and full fraught with prophane calumnies against their Names and Persons, and the wayes of God. But to the intent I may not trouble the Reader any more with mentioning of him in this History: In fine, sundry years after he came again into the Country, and was imprisoned at *Boston* for the aforefaid Book and other things, but denied sundry things therein, affirming his Book was adulterated. And soon after being grown old in wickedness, at last ended his life at *Pascataqua*. But I fear I have held the Reader too long about so unworthy a person, but hope it may be useful to take notice how wickedness was beginning, and would have further proceeded, had it not been prevented timely.

1 6 2 9.

THIS Year fundry Ships came out of *England*, and arrived at *Neumkeak*, where Mr. *John Endicot* had chief Command; and by Infection that grew amongst the Passengers at Sea, it spread also among them on shore, of which many died, some of the *Scurvy*, and other of infectious *Feavers*. Mr. *Endicot* understanding that there was one at *Plimonth* that had skill in such Diseases, sent thither for him; at whose Request he was sent unto them: And afterwards, acquaintance and Christian love and Correspondency came on betwixt the said Governour, and the said Mr. *Endicot*; which was furthered by Congratulatory Letters that passed betwixt each other: one whereof, because it shews the beginning of their Christian fellowship, I shall here insert.

The Copy of a Letter from Mr. *Endicot* to
Mr. *Bradford*, as followeth.

Right worshipfull Sir,

IT is a thing not usuall, that Servants to one Master, and of the same Household, should be strangers; I assure you I desire it not: nay, to speak more plainly, I cannot be so to you. Gods People are all marked with one and the same mark, and have for the main one and the same heart, guided by one and the same Spirit of Truth; and where this is, there can be no discord, nay here must needs be a sweet harmony: and the same request (with you) I make unto the Lord, that we as Christian Brethren be united by an heavenly and unfeigned love, bending all our hearts and forces in furthering a Work beyond our strength, with reverence and fear, fast-
L
ning

*A Letter from
Mr. Endicot to
Mr. Bradford.*

ning our eyes alwayes on him that is onely able to direct and prosper all our wayes. I acknowledge my self much bound to you for your kinde love and care in sending Mr. Fuller amongst us; and rejoyce much that I am by him satisfied touching your judgement of the Outward Form of Gods Worship: It is (as farre as I can gather) no other then is warranted by the Evidence of Truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed himself unto me, being farre from the common Report that hath been spread of you touching that particular: but Gods children must not look for less here below; and it is a great mercy of God that he strengthneth them to go through it. I shall not need at this time to enlarge unto you, for (God willing) I purpose to see your face shortly: in the meantime I humbly take my leave of you, committing you to the Lords blessing and protection, and rest

Neumkeak, May 11.

Your assured loving Friend,

1629.

JOHN ENDICOT.

In the three Ships that came over this year to Salem in the Month of June, besides many godly Christians, there came over three Ministers; two of them, Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson, were Non-conformists, who having suffered much in their Native Land upon that account, they came over with a professed intention of practising Church-Reformation: the third Minister Mr. Bright was a Conformist, who not agreeing in judgement with the other two, he removed to Charlestown, where also not agreeing with those godly Christians there that were for Reformation, after one years stay in the Country he returned for England. But Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, in pursuance of the ends of their coming over into this Wilderness, acquainted the Governour Mr. Endicott, and the rest of the godly People whom they found Inhabitants of the place,

and

and the chief of the Passengers that came over with them, with their professed intentions, and consulted with them about settling a Reformed Congregation; from whom they found a general and hearty Concurrence, so that after some Conference together about this matter, they pitched upon the 6th of *August* for their entring into a solemn Covenant with God, and one another, and also for the Ordaining of their Ministers; of which they gave notice to the Church of *Plimouth* (that being the onely Church that was in the Country before them) the people made choice of Mr. *Skelton* for their Pastor, and Mr. *Higginson* for their Teacher. And accordingly it was desired of Mr. *Higginson* to draw up a Confession of Faith and Covenant in Scripture-language; which being done, was agreed upon. And because they foresaw that this Wilderness might be looked upon as a place of Liberty, and therefore might in time be troubled with erroneous spirits, therefore they did put in one Article into the *Confession of Faith* on purpose about the *Duty and Power of the Magistrate in Matters of Religion*. Thirty Copies of the foresaid *Confession of Faith* and *Covenant* being written out for the use of thirty persons who were to begin the Work. When the sixth of *August* came, it was kept as a day of Fasting and Prayer, in which after the Sermons and Prayers of the two Ministers, in the end of the day, the foresaid *Confession of Faith* and *Covenant* being solemnly read, the forenamed persons did solemnly profess their Consent thereunto: and then proceeded to the Ordaining of Mr. *Skelton* Pastor, and Mr. *Higginson* Teacher of the Church there. Mr. *Bradford* the Governour of *Plimouth*, and some others with him, coming by Sea, were hindred by cross winds that they could not be there at the beginning of the day, but they came into the Assembly afterward, and gave them the *right hand of fellowship*, wishing all prosperity, and a blessed success unto such good beginnings. After which, at several times many others joyined to the Church in the same way. The *Confession of Faith* and *Covenant* forementioned, was acknowledged onely as a Direction pointing unto that Faith and Covenant contained

in the holy Scripture, and therefore no man was confined unto that form of words, but onely to the Substance, End and Scope of the matter contained therein: And for the Circumstantial manner of joyning to the Church, it was ordered according to the wisdom and faithfulness of the Elders; together with the liberty and ability of any person. Hence it was, that some were admitted by expressing their Consent to that written *Confession of Faith and Covenant*; others did answer to questions about the Principles of Religion that were publicly propounded to them; some did present their Confession in writing, which was read for them; and some that were able and willing; did make their Confession in their own words and way: A due respect was also had unto the Conversations of men, viz. that they were without Scandal. But some of the Passengers that came over at the same time, observing that the Ministers did not at all use the Book of *Common-Prayer*; and that they did administer Baptism and the Lords Supper without the Ceremonies, and that they professed also to use Discipline in the Congregation against scandalous persons, by a personal application of the Word of God as the case might require, and that some that were scandalous were denied admission into the Church, they began to raise some trouble: of these Mr. *Samuel Brown* and his Brother were the chief, the one being a Lawyer, the other a Merchant, both of them amongst the number of the first Patentees; men of Estates, and men of Parts and port in the place. These two Brothers gathered a Company together in a place distinct from the publick Assembly, and there sundry times the Book of *Common-Prayer* was read unto such as resorted thither. The Governour Mr. *Endicott* taking notice of the disturbance that began to grow amongst the people by this means, he convented the two Brothers before him. They accused the Ministers as departing from the Orders of the Church of England, that they were Separatists, and would be Anabaptists, &c. but for themselves, they would hold to the Orders of the Church of England. The Ministers answered for themselves, *They were neither Separatists nor Anabaptists,*
they

they did not separate from the Church of England, nor from the Ordinances of God there, but onely from the Corruptions and Disorders there; and that they came away from the Common-Prayer and Ceremonies, and had suffered much for their Non-Conformity in their Native Land, and therefore being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful Corruptions in the Worship of God. The Governour and Council, and the generality of the people, did well approve of the Ministers Answer: and therefore finding those two Brothers to be of high Spirits, and their speeches and practises tending to Mutiny and Faction, the Governour told them, *That New-England was no place for such as they*; and therefore he sent them both back for *England* at the return of the Ships the same year: and though they breathed out Threatnings both against the Governour and Ministers there, yet the Lord so disposed of all, that there was no further inconvenience followed upon it.

The two Ministers there being seriously studious of Reformation, they considered of the state of their Children, together with their Parents; concerning which, Letters did pass between Mr. Higginson, and Mr. Brewster the reverend Elder of the Church of *Plimouth*, and they did agree in their judgements, viz. concerning the *Church-Membership* of the Children with their parents, and that Baptism was a seal of their *Membership*, only when they were Adult, they being not scandalous, they were to be examined by the *Church-Officers*, and upon their approbation of their fitness, and upon the Childrens publick and personal owning of the Covenant, they were to be received unto the Lords Supper. Accordingly Mr. Higginson's eldest Son, being about fifteen years of age, was owned to have been received a member together with his Parents; and being privately examined by the Pastor Mr. Skelton, about his knowledge in the principles of Religion, he did present him before the Church when the Lords Supper was to be Administred, and the Child then publickly and personally owning the Covenant of

the God of his Father, he was admitted unto the Lords Supper: it being then professedly owned, according to 1 Cor. 7. 14. that the Children of the Church are holy unto the Lord as well as their Parents, accordingly the Parents owning and retaining the Baptism, which they themselves received in their Infancy, in their Native Land, as they had any Children born, Baptism was administred unto them, viz. to the Children of such as were members of that particular Church.

Mr. *Higginson* lived but one year after the settling of the Church there, departed this life about the same time the next year, in the Month of *August*, 1630. Mr. *Skelton* lived until the year 1634. when he also quietly slept in the Lord, and were both buried at *Salem*. As it is an honour to be in Christ before others, as in *Rom. 16.* so also to be first in the Lords work, and to be faithful in it, as these two holy men were; who made such a beginning in *Church-reformation*, as was afterwards followed by many others.

In the year 1634. Mr. *Roger Williams* removed from *Plimouth* to *Salem*: he had lived about three years at *Plimouth*, where he was well accepted as an assistant in the Ministry to Mr. *Ralph Smith*, then Pastor of the Church there, but by degrees venting of divers of his own singular opinions, and seeking to impose them upon others, he not finding such a concurrence as he expected, he desired his dismissal to the Church of *Salem*, which though some were unwilling to, yet through the prudent counsel of Mr. *Brewster* (the ruling Elder there) fearing that his continuance amongst them might cause divisions, and there being then many able men in the Bay, they would better deal with him then themselves could, and foreseeing (what he professed he feared concerning Mr. *Williams*, which afterwards came to pass) that he would run the same course of rigid Separation and Anabaptistry, which Mr. *John Smith* the Sebaptist at *Amsterdam* had done; the Church of *Plimouth* consented to his dismissal, and such as did adhere to him were also dismissed, and removed with him, or not long after him to *Salem*. He came to *Salem* in the time of Mr. *Skeltons* weakness, wha

who lived not long after Mr. *Williams* was come, whereupon after some time, the Church there called him to office; but he having in one year's time, filled that place with principles of rigid separation, and tending to Anabaptistry; the prudent Magistrates of the *Massachusetts* Jurisdiction, sent to the Church of *Salem*, desiring them to forbear calling him to office, which they not hearkening to, was a cause of much disturbance; for Mr. *Williams* had begun, and then being in office, he proceeded more vigorously to vent many dangerous opinions, as amongst many others these were some; *That it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor to take an Oath, and in special, not the Oath of Fidelity to the Civil Government; nor was it lawful for a godly man to have communion either in Family Prayer, or in an Oath with such as they judged unregenerate: and therefore he himself refused the Oath of Fidelity, and taught others so to do: also, That it was not lawful so much as to hear the godly Ministers of England, when any occasionally went thither, & therefore he admonished any Church-members that had done so, as for hainous sin: also he spake dangerous words against the Patent, which was the foundation of the Government of the Massachusetts Colony: also he affirmed, That the Magistrates had nothing to do in matters of the first Table, but only the second; and that there should be a general and unlimited Toleration of all Religions, and for any man to be punished for any matters of his Conscience, was persecution.** And further he procured the Church of *Salem's* consent unto letters of Admonition, which was written and sent by him in their name, to the Churches at *Boston, Charlestown, New-town* (now *Cambridge*) &c. accusing the Magistrates that were members of the respective Churches, of sundry hainous offences which he laid unto their charge, and though divers did acknowledge their error and gave satisfaction, yet Mr. *Williams* himself, notwithstanding all the pains that was taken with him by Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *Hooker*, and many others, to bring him to a sight of his errors and miscarriages, and notwithstanding all the Courts gentle proceedings with him, he not only persisted, but grew more violent in his way, insomuch as he staying

at home in his own house, sent a Letter, which was delivered and read in the publick Church assembly, the scope of which was to give them notice, *That if the Church of Salem would not separate not only from the Churches of Old-England, but the Churches of New-England too, he would separate from them:* the more prudent and sober part of the Church being amazed at his way, could not yield unto him: whereupon he never came to the Church Assembly more, professing separation from them as Antichristian, and not only so, but he withdrew all private religious Communion from any that would hold Communion with the Church there, insomuch as he would not pray nor give thanks at meals with his own wife nor any of his family, because they went to the Church Assemblies: divers of the weaker sort of the Church-members, that had been thoroughly leavened with his Opinions, of which number were divers women that were zealous in their way, did by degrees fall off to him, insomuch as he kept a meeting in his own house, unto which a numerous company did resort, both on the Sabbath day and at other times, in way of separation from, and opposition to the Church Assembly there; which the prudent Magistrates understanding, and seeing things grow more and more towards a general division and disturbance, after all other means used in vain, they passed a sentence of Banishment against him out of the *Massachusetts* Colony, as against a disturber of the peace, both of the Church and Common-wealth.

After which Mr. *Williams* sat down in a place called *Providence*, out of the *Massachusetts* Jurisdiction, and was followed by many of the members of the Church of *Salem*, who did zealously adhere to him, and who cried out of the Persecution that was against him: some others also resorted to him from other parts. They had not been long there together, but from rigid separation they fell to Anabaptistry, renouncing the Baptism which they had received in their Infancy, and taking up another Baptism, and so began a Church in that way; but Mr. *Williams* stopped not there long, for after some time he told the people that had followed him, and joyned with him in a new Baptism,
that

that he was out of the way himself, and had mis-led them, for he did not finde that there was any upon earth that could administer Baptism, and therefore their last Baptism was a nullity, as well as their first; and therefore they must lay down all, and wait for the coming of new Apostles: and so they dissolved themselves, and turned Seekers, keeping that one Principle, *That every one should have liberty to worship God according to the Light of their own Consciences*; but otherwise not owning any Churches or Ordinances of God any where upon Earth.

Thus much was thought meet to be inserted here concerning the great and lamentable Apostacy of Mr. *Williams*, that it may be a Warning to all others to take heed of a gradual declining from, and forsaking the Churches of Christ, and Ordinances of God in them, lest they be left of God to run such a course as he hath done; *wherefore let him that thinks he stands, take heed lest he fall*, 1 Cor. 10. 12. As also to be a Motive to the Saints, to remember him unto God in their fervent Prayers for his return, he having been sometimes an able Dispenser of the Word of God, and (in several respects) of an exemplary Conversation.

And yet that there may be a standing Evidence of the Care that was had in those times to prevent the growth of Errours, and of the exercise of the Communion of Churches for that end, it is thought meet further to insert this passage: That before the putting forth of the Civil Power of the Magistrate for the removing of Mr. *Williams* from *Salem*, and besides other means also used, there was a publick Admonition sent in writing from the Church of *Boston* to the Church of *Salem*, for the reducing of Mr. *Williams*, and the erring part of the Church. The Title of the Writing was,

Errours in Doctrine maintained by some of the Brethren of the Church of Salem, tending to the disturbance of Religion and Peace in Family, Church and Common wealth; viz.

1. **T**Hat it is not lawful to call upon an unregenerate man to pray for himself.
2. It is not lawful for a regenerate man to pray with his carnal Family.
3. It is not lawful for Magistrates to take an Oath of Fidelity from unregenerate men.
4. It is not lawful for Magistrates to take an Oath of Fidelity from the body of their Subjects, though regenerate, and Members of Churches.
5. It is not lawful for Magistrates to punish the breaches of the first Table, unless thereby the Civil Peace of the Commonwealth be disturbed.

Whence also it follows, and is confessed,

That a Church wholly declining into *Arianism*, *Papism*, *Familism*, or other Heresies, being admonished, and convinced thereof by other Churches, and not reforming, may not be reformed by the Civil Magistrate in a way of Civil Justice, unless it break the Civil Peace.

These Errours were solidly confuted, and the contrary Truths asserted by the Word of God, in that Writing which was Subscribed by

John Cotton Teacher of the Church of *Boston*.

Thomas Oliver } Elders of the same Church.
Thomas Leveret }

Mr. Wilson the Pastor of the Church being at that time absent upon a Voyage to *England*.

1 6 3 0.

THIS Year it pleased God of his rich grace to Transport over into the Bay of the *Massachusetts* divers honourable Personages, and many worthy Christians, whereby the Lord began in a manifest manner and way to make known the great thoughts which he had of Planting the Gospel in this remote and barbarous Wilderness, and honouring his own Way of Instituted Worship, causing such and so many to adhere thereunto, and fall upon the practice thereof: Among the rest, a chief one amongst them was that famous Patern of Piety and Justice Mr. *John Winthrop*, the first Governour of that Jurisdiction, accompanied with divers other precious Sons of *Sion*, which might be compared to the most fine gold. Amongst whom also I might name that Reverend and Worthy man, Mr. *John Wilson*, eminent for Love and Zeal; he likewise came over this year, and bare a great share of the difficulties of these new beginnings with great chearfulness and alacrity of spirit: They came over with a Fleet of ten Ships, three of them arriving first at *Salem*, in which several of the chiefeft of them came, who repaired sundry of them in some short time into the Bay of the *Massachusetts*; the other seven Ships arrived at *Charlstown*, where it pleased the Lord to exercise them with much sickness, and being destitute of housing and shelter, and lying up and down in Booths, some of them languished and died: yea, it pleased God to take away amongst the rest, that blessed Servant of Christ Mr. *Isaac Johnson*, with his Lady, soon after their arrival, with sundry other precious Saints. This sickness being heavy upon them, caused the principal of them to propose to the rest to set a day apart to seek the Lord for the asswaging of his displeasure therein, as also for direction and guidance in the solemn enterprize of entring into Church-fellowship; which solemn day of Humiliation was observed by all, not onely of themselves, but also by their

Brethren at *Plimouth* in their behalf: and the Lord was intreated not onely to assuage the sickness, but also encouraged their hearts to a beginning, and in some short time after to a further progress in the great Work of Erecting a way of Worshipping of Christ in Church-fellowship, according to Primitive Institution. Those choice and eminent Servants of Christ did not despise their poor Leaders and Fellow-souldiers that they found in the same Work of the Lord with them at *Plimouth*, but treated them as Brethren, much pitying their great straits and hardships they had endured in the first beginning of Planting this Wilderness, promising all helpfulness even out of their own Estates according to their power; and their said Brethren at *Plimouth* were perswaded they spake as they thought in their hearts: for, such was the simplicity of those times, as that divers faces were not carried under a hood; Pride, Covetousness, Profaneness, and sinful Self, were ashamed to be seen, except in obscure places and persons. Oh poor *New-England*, consider what thou wast, and what thou now art! Repent, and do thy first works, saith the Lord; so may thy peace yet be as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea. So be it. But to return.

11a 43, 18, 19.

The first that began in the work of the Lord above-mentioned, were their honoured Governour Mr. *John Winthrop*, Mr. *Johnson* fore-named, that much honoured Gentleman Mr. *Thomas Dudley*, and Mr. *John Wilson* aforesaid: These four were the first that began that honourable Church of *Boston*, unto whom there joyned many others. The same year also Mr. *George Philips* (who was a worthy Servant of Christ, and Dispenser of his Word) began a Church-fellowship at *Watertown*; as did also Mr. *Maverick* and Mr. *Wareham* at *Dorchester* the same year.

Thus out of small beginnings greater things have been produced by his hand that made all things of nothing: and as one small Candle may light a thousand; so the Light here kindled hath shone unto many, yea in some sort to our whole Nation. Let the glorious Name of *Jehovah* have all the praise in all Ages.

1 6 3 1.

THis Year the Reverend and Usefull Instrument Mr. *John Eliot* came over, and not long after Mr. *Weld*, who began a Church-Society at *Roxbury*; as likewise good old Mr. *Maverick* and Mr. *Warcham* began one at *Dorchester*.

1 6 3 2.

THis year one Sir. *Christopher Gardiner* (being as himself said) descended of the house of *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, who was so great a Persecutor of Gods Saints in *Queen Marias* dayes, arrived in *New-England*; he being a great traveller received his first honor of Knight-hood at *Jerusalem*, being made Knight at the Sepulchre there: he came into these parts in pretence of forsaking the World, and to live a private life in a godly course, not unwilling to put himself upon any mean employment, and take any pains for his living, and sometimes offered himself to joyn to the Church in sundry places: he brought over with him a servant or two, and a comely young woman whom he called his Cousin; but it was suspected (that after the *Italian* manner) she was his Concubine: he living at the *Massachusetts*, for some miscarriages for which he should have answered, fled away from Authority and got amongst the Indians in the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*; the Government of the *Massachusetts* sent after him but could not get him. and promised some reward to those that should finde him; the *Indians* came to the Governour of *Plimouth* and told where he was, and asked if they might kill him, but the said Governour told them no, they should not kill him by no means, but if they could take him alive and bring him to *Plimouth*, they should be payed for their pains; they said he had a Gun and a

M 3 Rapier,

Rapier, and he would kill them if they went about it, and the *Massachusetts Indians* said they might kill him, but the Governour aforefaid told them no, they should not kill him, but watch their opportunity and take him, and so they did; for when they light on him by a River side, he got into a Cannoo to get from them, and when they came near him, whiles he presented his piece at them to keep them off, the stream carried the Cannoo against a Rock, and threw both him and his Piece and the Rapier into the water, yet he got our, and having a little dagger by his side, they durst not close with him; but getting long poles, they soon beat his dagger out of his hand: so he was glad to yield, and they brought him to the Governour at *Plimouth*, but his hands and arms were swelled and very sore with the blows they had given him, so he used him kindly, and sent him to a lodging where his arms were bathed and annointed, and he was quickly well again, and blamed the *Indians* for beating him so much: they said they did but a little whip him with sticks. In his lodging those that made his bed, found a little Note-book that by accident had slipped out of his pocket or some private place, in which was a memorial what day he was reconciled to the Pope and Church of *Rome*, and in what University he took his *Scapula*, and such and such a Degree; it being brought to the Governour, he kept it, and sent it to the Governour of the *Massachusetts* with word of his taking, who sent for him; but afterwards he went for *England* and shewed his malice against *New-England*, but God prevented him; of which I thought meet to insert a Letter from Mr. *Winthrop* Governour of the *Massachusetts* to Mr. *Bradford* the Governour of *Plimouth* (in reference to this matter) as also the Copy of an Order relating to the same as followeth. And first of the Letter.

SIR,

UPON a Petition exhibited by Sir Christopher Gardiner, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Captain Malon, &c. against you and us, the cause was heard before the Lords of the Privy

Privy Council, and afterwards reported to the King; the success whereof makes it evident to all, that the Lord hath care of his people here; the passages are admirable and too long to write: I heartily wish for an opportunity to impart them unto you, being many sheets of Paper; but the conclusion was, against all mens expectation, an order for our encouragement, and much blame and disgrace upon the adversaries, which calls for much thankfulness from us, all which we purpose (God willing) to express in a day of thanksgiving to our merciful God, I doubt not but you will consider if it be not fit for you to joyn in it; who as he hath humbled us by his late correction, so he hath lifted us up by an abundant rejoicing in our deliverance out of so desperate a danger; so as that which our enemies built their hopes upon to ruine us by, he hath mercifully disposed to our great advantage, as I shall further acquaint you when occasion shall serve.

The Copy of the Order follows.

At the Court at Whitehall, January 19. 1632.

Sigillum Crescent.

Lord Privy-Seal.

Mr. Trevers.

Earl of Dorset.

Mr. Vice-Chamberlain.

Lord Vicount Falkland.

Mr. Secretary Cook.

Lord Bishop of London.

Mr. Secretary Windebank.

Lord Cottinton.

WHereas his Majesty hath lately been informed of great distraction and much disorder in the Plantations in the parts of *America* called *New England*, which if they be true, and suffered to run on, would tend to the dishonour of this Kingdome, and utter ruine of
that

that Plantation: for prevention whereof, & for the orderly settling of Government, according to the intention of those Patents which have been granted by his *Majesty*, & from his late Royal Father King *James*; It hath pleased his *Majesty* that the Lords and others of his most honourable Privy Council should take the same into consideration: Their Lordships in the first place thought fit to make a Committee of this Board, to take examination of the matters informed: which Committee having called divers of the principal Adventurers in that Plantation, and heard those that are complainants against them; most of the things informed being denied, and resting to be proved by parties that must be called from that place, which required a long expence of time, and at present their Lordships finding they were upon dispatch of Men, Victuals and Merchandise for that place, all which would be at a stand if the Adventurers should have discouragement, or take suspicion that the State here had no good opinion of that Plantation; their Lordships not laying the fault, or fancies (if any be) of some particular men upon the General Government, or principal Adventurers, which in due time is further to be enquired into; have thought fit in the mean time to declare, that the appearances were so fair, and hopes so great, that the Country would prove both beneficial to this Kingdome, and profitable to the particulars, as that the Adventurers had cause to go on cheerfully with their undertakings, and rest assured, if things were carried as was pretended when the Patents were granted, and accordingly as by the Patents it is appointed, His *Majesty* would not only maintain the Liberties and priviledges heretofore granted,

granted, but supply any thing further that might tend to the good Government, prosperity and comfort of His people there of that place, &c.

William Tromball.

1 6 3 3.

THis Year Mr. *Edward Winslow* was Chosen Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*: And

Mr. <i>William Bradford</i> ,	}	were Chosen to be his Assistants in Government.
Captain <i>Miles Standish</i> ,		
Mr. <i>John Howland</i> ,		
Mr. <i>John Alden</i> ,		
Mr. <i>John Dove</i> ,		
Mr. <i>Stephen Hopkins</i> , &		
Mr. <i>William Gilson</i> ,		

The Plantation of *Plimouth* having had some former converse with the *Dutch*, as hath been hinted, they seeing them seated in a barren quarter, told them of a River called by them the *Fresh River*, which they often commended unto them for a good place, both for Plantation and Trade, and wished them to make use of it; but their hands being full otherwise, they let it pass: but afterwards there coming a company of *Indians* into these parts, that were driven out of their Country by the porenity of the *Pequots*, they solicited them to go thither. These *Indians* not seeing them very forward to entertain the motion, which they moved with great ardency, they solicited them of the Government of the *Massachusetts* in like sort; but they being then not fit to entertain the motion, in respect that they were newly come into the Country, did not much regard it.

*which is the
same called
Connecticut
River.*

it. Notwithstanding, some of the chief made a motion to joyn with some here in a way of Trade at the same River; on which a meeting was appointed to treat concerning the same matter, and some of *Plimouth* appointed to give them meeting, which they did; but they cast in the way many fears of danger and loss, and the like, on which they of the *Massachusetts* declined the thing, and did not proceed therein. Whereupon, those of *Plimouth* went on alone, and prepared a Frame of an House, and stowed it into a Barque; ready to rear at their landing, and went up the said River, and reared their House, and fenced it about with a Pallisado, which was done with great difficulty, not onely of the *Dutch*, but also of the *Indians*.

Notwithstanding, the place they possessed themselves of, was such as the *Dutch* had nothing to do with, and likewise was lawfully purchased of the *Indians* which they carried with them. And this was *Plimouths* entrance there, who deserved to have held it, and not by friends to have been thrust out, as in a sort they afterwards were.

This year it pleased God to visit *Plimouth* with an infectious Feaver, of which many fell very sick, and upwards of twenty died, men, women and children, and sundry of them were of their ancient Friends; amongst the rest, Mr. *Samuel Fuller* then died, after he had much helped others, and was a comfort to them: he was their Chirurgion and Phylician, and did much good in his place, being not onely usefull in his faculty, but otherwise as he was a godly man, and served Christ in the Office of a Deacon in the Church for many years, and forward to do good in his place, and was much missed after God removed him out of this world.

This sickness caused much sadness amongst them, and according to their duty they besought the Lord by Fasting and Prayer, and he was intreated of them, and towards Winter the sickness ceased. This sickness being a kinde of a pestilent Feaver, swept away also many of the *Indians* from many places near adjoining to *Plimouth*.

It is to be observed, That the Spring, before this sickness, there

there was a numerous company of *Flies*, which were like for bigness unto *Wasps* or *Bumble Bees*, they came out of little holes in the ground, and did eat up the green things, and made such a constant yelling noise as made all the Woods ring of them, and ready to deaf the hearers; they were not any of them heard or seen by the *English* in the Country before this time: but the *Indians* told them that sickness would follow, and so it did very hot in the Months of *June*, *July* and *August* of that Summer.

Strange and unwonted Flies a presage of a sickness that followed.

This year there arrived in *New-England* those three worthy Instruments, Mr. *John Cotton*, Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, and Mr. *Samuel Stone*, who were Gospel-Preachers of excellent worth and use in their places, untill God took them out of the world unto himself.

Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, & Mr. Samuel Stones arrival in N.E.

This year likewise Mr. *William Collier* arrived with his Family in *New-England*, who as he had been a good Benefactor to the Colony of *New-Plimouth* before he came over, having been an Adventurer unto it at its first beginning; so also he approved himself a very useful Instrument in that Jurisdiction after he arrived, being frequently Chosen, and for divers years serving God and the Country in the place of Magistracy; and lived a godly and holy life untill old Age, which to him is a *Crown of Glory*, being found in the way of *Righteousness*.

Mr. Colliers arrival in N.E.

I 6 3 4.

THis Year Mr. *Thomas Prince* was Chosen Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*: His Assistants in Government were

{ Mr. *William Bradford*,
 { Mr. *Edward Winslow*,
 { Captain *Miles Standish*,
 { Mr. *William Collier*,
 { Mr. *John Alden*,
 { Mr. *John Howland*, and
 { Mr. *Stephen Hopkins*.

*A great sickness
amongst the In-
dians.*

In the Spring of this Year there fell a very great sickness of the Small Pox amongst the *Indians*, so as they died most miserably of it; for a sorer Disease cannot come amongst them, and they dread it more then the Plague it self, for usually those of them which have this Disease, have them in abundance, and for want of Bedding and Linen, and other Necessaries, they fall into a lamentable condition; for as they lye on their hard Mats, the Pox breaking and running one into another, their skin cleaving by reason thereof to the Mats they lye on, when they turn them, much of their skin will flay off at once, and they will be all on a gore blood, most sad and grievous to behold; and then being very sore, what with cold and other distempers, they die like rotten sheep.

This Year one Captain *Stone*, who had sometimes lived at *Christophers* in the *West-Indies*, came into these parts; of whom I have nothing to speak in way of commendation, but rather the contrary. After he had been to and fro in the Country, he returned towards *Virginia* with one Captain *Norton*; and so it was, that as they returned they went in at *Cannecticut* River, where the *Indians* killed the said *Stone* as he lay in his Cabbins, and threw a Covering over him: they likewise.

wife killed all the rest of his Company but the said Captain *Norton*, he defending himself a long time in the Cook-room of the Barque, untill by accident the Gunpowder took fire, which for readines he had set in an open thing before him, which did so burn and scald him, and blinde his eyes, as he could make no longer resistance, but was slain also by them, and they made a prey of his goods.

It is to be observed, That the said *Stone* being at the *Dutch* Plantation in the fore-part of this year, a certain Barque of *Plimouth* being there likewise on Trading, he kept company with the *Dutch* Governour, and made him drunk, and got leave of him in his drunkeuness to take the said Barque, without any occasion or cause given him; and so taking his time when the Merchant and some of the chief of the men were on shore, with some of his own men, made the rest of them weigh Anchor, and set sail to carry her away to *Virginia*: but some of the *Dutch* Seamen, who had been at *Plimouth* and received kindness, seeing this horrible abuse, got a Vessel or two and pursued them, and brought them back. After this he came into the *Massachusetts* Bay, where they commenced Suit against him; but by the mediation of some it was taken up, and afterwards in the company of some Gentlemen he came to *Plimouth*, and was kindly entertained: but Revenge boiling in his breast, (as some conceived) he watched a season to have stabbed the Governour, and put his hand to his Dagger for that end, but by Gods Providence ordering the vigilance of some that were about him, he was prevented: but God met with him for these and other wickednesses, as hath been before related.

1635.

THIS year Mr. *William Bradford* was chosen Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*. And

Mr. *Edward Winslow*,
 Mr. *Thomas Prince*,
 Mr. *William Collier*,
 Captain *Standish*,
 Mr. *John Alden*,
 Mr. *John Howland*, and
 Mr. *Stephen Hopkins*,

Were Chosen to be his
 Assistants in Government.

This Year Mr. *Edward Winslow* took a Voyage for *England*, on publick occasions, and it came to pass that he had occasion to answer some Complaints made against the Country, at the Council Board; more chiefly concerning the *Massachusetts* Jurisdiction, which he did to good effect, and further prosecuted such things as might tend to the good of the whole: in particular he preferred a Petition to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for the Plantations in *America*, in reference unto some injuries done by the *French* and *Dutch* unto the Country; which Petition found good acceptance, and was in a way to a satisfactory Answer: but sundry Adversaries interposed, whose ends were the subversion and overthrow of the Churches, at least to disturb their peace, and hinder their growth; but by Gods providence it so fell out in the end, that although those Adversaries crossed the Petition for taking any further effect in the end principally intended in it; yet by this as a means, the whole plot was discovered, and those Adversaries came to nothing: the particulars whereof, are too long here to be inserted.

This Year, on Saturday, the fifteenth day of *August*, was such a mighty storm of Wind and Rain, as none now living in these

these parts, either *English* or *Indian* had seen the like, being like unto those *Hirracanes* or *Tuffins* that writers mention to be sometimes in the *Indies*. It began in the morning a little before day, and grew not by degrees, but came with great violence in the beginning, to the great amazement of many; It blew down sundry houses, and uncovered divers others: divers Vessels were lost at Sea in it, and many more in extream danger. It caused the Sea to swell in some places to the southward of *Plimouth*, as that it arose to twenty foot right up and down, and made many of the *Indians* to climb into Trees for their safety: It threw down all the Corn to the ground, which never rose more; the which through the mercy of God, it being near harvest time, was not lost, though much the worse: and had the wind continued without shifting, in likelihood it would have drowned some part of the Country. It blew down many hundred thousands of Trees, turning up the stronger by the roots, and breaking the high Pine Trees and such like in the midst, and the tall young Oaks, and Walnut Trees of good bigness, were wound as a Wyth by it; very strange and fearful to behold: It began in the Southeast, and veered sundry wayes, but the greatest force of it at *Plimouth*, was from the former quarter, it continued not in extremity above five or six hours, ere the violence of it began to abate; the marks of it will remain this many years, in those parts where it was sorest: the Moon suffered a great Eclipse two nights after it.

*The great storm
or Hirracane*

1636.

This Year Mr. *Edward Winslow* was chosen Governour of the Jurisdiction of *Plimouth*: And

Mr. <i>William Bradford</i> ,	} were chosen to be his Assistants in Government.
Mr. <i>Thomas Prince</i> ,	
Mr. <i>William Collier</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Alden</i> ,	
Mr. <i>Timothy Hatherly</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Brown</i> ,	
Mr. <i>Stephen Hopkins</i> ,	

Mr. William
Cooper cast a
way.

This Year the Towns on the River of *Connecticut* began to be planted, and in transporting of Goods thither, from the *Massachusetts Bay*, two shallops were cast away (loaden with Goods to go thither) in an Easterly storm, at the mouth of *Plimouth Harbour*; the Boats men were all lost, not so much as any of their bodies found for burial, they being five in number in both the Boats: the Principal of them was one Mr. *William Cooper*, an antient Seaman of known skill, having formerly been *Master* of a ship, and had gone great Voyages to the East-Indies and to other parts, but the night being dark and stormy, they ran upon the skirt of a flat that lieth near the mouth of the harbour, and so were over-raked; the goods came on shore along the Harbour, and the Governour caused a careful course to be taken for the preservation of them in the behalf of the right owners, who afterwards received so many of them as were saved.

The Relation of
the Pequot
Wars.

Now followeth the Tragedy of the War that fell betwixt the *English* and the *Pequots*, which I will relate according to my best intelligence; in order whereunto I thought good to mention some particulars first, that by discerning the whole matter, in the several parts and circumstances, the more
of

of the mercy and goodness of God may be taken notice of, to his praise, for destroying so Proud and Blasphemous an Enemy.

In the Year 1634. the *Pequots*, a stout and war-like People, who had made War with sundry of their Neighbours, and being puffed up with many Victories, grew now at variance with the *Narrhagansets*, a great People bordering upon them; these *Narrhagansets* held correspondence and tearms of friendship with the *English* of the *Massachusetts*: now the *Pequots* being conscious of the guilt of Captain *Stones* death, whom they knew to be an *English man*, as also those that were with him; and being fallen out with the *Dutch*, lest they should have over many Enemies at once, sought to make friendship with the *English* of the *Massachusetts*, and for that end, sent both messengers and gifts unto them, as appears by some Letters sent from the Governour of the *Massachusetts* to the Governour of *Plinmouth*, as followeth.

Dear and Worthy Sir,

TO let you know something of our affairs; you may understand that the *Pequots* have sent some of theirs to us, to desire our friendship, and offered much Wampam and Beaver, &c. The first messengers were dismissed without answer; with the next we had divers dayes conference, and taking the advice of some of our Ministers, and seeking the Lord in it, we concluded a peace and friendship with them, upon these conditions, that they should deliver up to us those men who were guilty of *Stones* death, &c. and if we desired to plant in *Connecticor*, they should give up their right to us, and we would send to trade with them as our friends, which was the chief thing we aimed at: they being now in War with the *Dutch* and the rest of their Neighbours; To this they readily agreed, and that we should mediate a peace
 O between

between them and the Narrhagansets, for which end they were content we should give the Narrhagansets part of the Present they would bestow on us; for they stood so much on their honour, as they would not be seen to give any thing of themselves: as for Captain Stone, they told us there were but two left of those who had any hand in his death, and that they killed him in a just quarrel, for (said they) he surprized two of our men and bound them, to make them by force to shew him the way up the River; and he with two other coming on shore, nine Indians watched them, and when they were asleep in the night, they killed them, to deliver their own men; and some of them going afterwards to the Barque, it was suddenly blown up: We are now preparing to send a Barque unto them. And in another Letter he saith, our Barque is lately returned from the Pequots, and our men put off but little Commodities, and found them a very false people, so as we mean to have no more to do with them.

Tours ever assured,

Boston March 12. 1634.

John Winthrop.

Not long after these things, Mr. John Oldham (of whom much is spoken before) being now an inhabitant of the Massachusetts, went with a small vessel and slenderly manned on trading on those south parts; and upon a quarrel between him and the Indians, was cut off by them in such manner as hath been fore-noted, at an Island called by the Indians Mannisses, but by the English Block-Island; this with the former about the death of Stone, and the baffling of the Pequots with the English of the Massachusetts, moved them to set out some to take revenge, and require satisfaction for those wrongs: but it took little effect, some of the murderers of Mr. Oldham fled to the Pequots, and

Mr. Oldham's
death.

and although the *English* went to the *Pequots*, and had some partly with them, yet they did but delude them; and the *English* returned without doing any thing to purpose, being frustrate of their opportunity by their deceit: After the *English* of the *Massachusetts* were returned, the *Pequots* took their time and opportunity to cut off some of the *English* at Connecticut, as they passed up and down upon their occasions; and tortured some of them in putting them to death, in a most horrid and barbarous manner: and most Blasphemously in this their cruelty, bad them call upon their God, or mocked and derided them when they so did; and not long after assaulted them at their houses and habitations, as will appear more fully in the ensuing Relation.

The *Pequots*
horrible Blas-
phemy.

1 6 3 7.

IN the fore-part of this Year, the *Pequots* fell openly upon the *English* at Connecticut, in the lower parts of the River, and slew sundry of them as they were at work in the fields, both men and women, to the great terror of the rest; and went away in great pride and triumph with many high threats: they also assaulted Saybrook Fort, at the mouth of the River of Connecticut, although it was strong and well defended: it struck them with much fear and astonishment, to see their bold attempts in the face of danger, which made them in all places to stand upon their guard, and to prepare for resistance, and earnestly to sollicite their friends and confederates in the *Massachusetts* Bay, to send them speedy aid, for they looked for more forceable assaults: Mr. *Vane* being then Governour of that Jurisdiction, writ from their General Court to the Governour and Court of *New-Plimouth*, to joyn with them in this War, to which they were cordially willing: In the mean time, before things could be prepared for to set out, the *Pequots* (as they had done the winter before) sought to make peace with the *Narrhagansets*

ganfets, and used many pernicious Arguments to move them thereunto, as *That the English were strangers, and began to overspread their Country, and would deprive them thereof in time, if they were suffered to grow and increase; and if the Narrhaganfets did assist the English to subdue them, that did but make way for their own overthrow; for if they were rooted out, the English would soon take occasion to subjugate them, and if they would hearken to them, they should not need to fear the strength of the English: for they would not come to open Battel with them, but fire their Houses, kill their Cattell, and lye in ambush for them as they went abroad upon their occasions; and all this they might easily do with little danger to themselves: the which course being held, they well saw the English would not long subsist, but they would either be starved with hunger, or forced to forsake the Country: with many like things; insomuch that the Narrhaganfets were once wavering, and were half minded to have made peace with them, and joyned against the English; but again when they considered how much wrong they had received from the Pequots, and what an opportunity they now had by helping the English, to right themselves, revenge was so sweet to them, as it prevailed above all the rest; so as they resolved to joyn with the English against them, and so did. The Court of Plymouth agreed to send fifty men at their own charge, and with as much speed as possibly they could get them in a readiness, under sufficient Leaders, and provided a Barque to carry their provisions, and to tend upon them on all occasions, and when they were ready to march with a supply from the Bay, they had word sent them to stay, for the Enemy was as good as vanquished and there would be no need.*

I shall not take upon me exactly to describe their Proceedings in this War, because possibly it hath been done by themselves that were Actors therein, and best knew the Circumstances of things: I shall therefore set them down in the main and general, according to my best Intelligence.

From *Connecticut*, who were most sensible of the hurt sustained and the present danger, they set out a party of men,
and

and another party met them from the *Massachusetts* Bay at the *Narrhagansets*, who were to joyn with them. The *Narrhagansets* were very earnest to be gone, before the *English* were well rested and refreshed, especially some of them which came last: It should seem their desire was to come upon the Enemy suddenly and unexpectedly. There being a Barque of *Plimouth* newly put in there, which was come from *Connecticut*, they did encourage them to lay hold of the opportunity of the *Indians* forwardness, and to shew as great forwardness as they, for it would encourage them, and Expedition might turn to their great advantage: So they went on, and so ordered their march, as the *Indians* brought them to the Fort of their Enemy (in which most of their chief men were) before day: They approached the same with great silence, and surrounded it both with *English* and *Indians*, that they might not break out, and so assaulted them with great Courage, shooting amongst them, and entered the Fort with great speed; and those that first entered found sharp resistance from the Enemy, who both shot and grappled with them: Others ran into their houses, and brought out fire and set them on fire, which soon took in their Mats, and their houses standing close together, with the wind all was soon on a flame, and thereby more were burnt to death then were otherwise slain. It burnt their Bow-strings, and made them unserviceable. Those that escaped the Fire were slain with the Sword; some hewed to pieces, others run through with their Rapiers, so as they were quickly dispatched, and very few escaped: The Number they thus destroyed, was conceived to be above Four hundred. At this time it was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in the Fire, and the streams of Blood quenching the same; and horrible was the stink and scent thereof: but the Victory seemed a sweet Sacrifice, and they gave the praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their Enemies in their hands, and give them so speedy Victory over so proud, insulting, and blasphemous an Enemy. The *Narrhagansets* all this while stood round about a loof off from all danger; and left

*They praise
God for giving
them the victory*

the whole Execution to the *English*, except it were the stopping any that brake away, insulting over their Enemies in their ruines and misery, when they saw them dancing in the Fire; calling by a word in their own Language, signifying *O brave Pequots!* which they used familiarly amongst themselves in their own praises, in Songs of Triumph after their Victories.

After this Service was thus happily accomplished, the *English* marched to the water-side, where they met with some of their Vessels, by whom they were refreshed, and supplied with Victuals and other Necessaries: But in their march, the rest of the *Pequots* drew into a Body, and followed them, thinking to have some advantage against them by reason of a Neck of Land; but when they saw the *English* prepare for them, they kept aloof, so as they neither did hurt, nor would receive any. And after the *English* their refreshing, and repairing together for further Counsel and Directions, they resolved to pursue their Victory, and follow the War against the rest: but the *Narrhagansets* most of them forsook them, and such of them as they had with them for Guides or otherwise, they found very cold or backward in the business, either out of envy, or that they thought the *English* would make more profit of the Victory then they were willing they should, or else deprive them of that advantage that they desired, in making the *Pequots* become Tributaries unto them, or the like.

For the rest of this Tragedy, I shall onely relate the same as it is in a Letter from Mr. *Winthrop* to Mr. *Bradford*, as followeth:

Worthy Sir,

I Received your loving Letter, but straightness of time forbids me: for my desire is to acquaint you with the Lords great mercy towards us, in our prevailing against his and our Enemies, that you may rejoice and praise his Name with us. About four-score of our men having coasted along towards the Dutch Plantation, sometimes by water, but most by land, met here and there with
some

some Pequots, whom they slew or took Prisoners. Two Sachems they took and beheaded; and not hearing of Sasacus the chief Sachem, they gave a Prisoner his life to go and finde him out: He went, and brought them word where he was; but Sasacus suspecting him to be a Spy, after he was gone, fled away with some twenty more to the Mohawks, so our men missed of him: yet dividing themselves, and ranging up and down as the Providence of God guided them, for the Indians were all gone save three or four, and they knew not whither to guide them, or else would not; Upon the thirteenth of this Month they lighted upon a great Company, viz. Eighty strong men, and two hundred women and children, in a small Indian Town fast by a hideous Swamp, which they all slipped into, before our men could get to them. Our Captains were not then come together, but there was Mr. Ludlow and Captain Mason, with some ten of their men, and Captain Patrick with some twenty or more of his, who shooting at the Indians, Captain Trask with fifty more came soon in at the noise. Then they gave order to surround the Swamp, it being about a Mile round; but Lieutenant Davenport and some twelve more, not hearing that Command, fell into the Swamp amongst the Indians: The Swamp was so thick with shrubs, and Boggie withall, that some stuck fast, and received many shot. Lieutenant Davenport was dangerously wounded about his Arm-hole, and another shot in the Head, so as fainting they were in great danger to have been taken by the Indians, but Sergeant Riggs and Sergeant Jeffery, and two or three more, rescued them, and slew divers of the Indians with their Swords. After they were drawn out, the Indians desired Parley, and were offered by Thomas Stanton our Interpreter, That if they would come out and yield themselves, they should have their lives that had not their hand in the English Blood. Whereupon the Sachem of the place came forth, and an old man or two, and their Wives and children, and so they spake two hours, till it was night: Then Thomas Stanton was sent to them again, to call them forth, but they said they would sell their lives there; and so shot at him so thick, as if he had not been presently relieved and rescued on his crying out, they would have slain him. Then our men cut off a place of
Swamp

Swamp with their swords, and cooped up the Indians into a narrow compass, so as they could easier kill them through the thickets: so they continued all the night, standing about twelve foot one from another, and the Indians coming up close to our men, shot their Arrows so thick, as they pierced their Hat brims, and their sleeves and stockings, and other parts of their Clothes, yet so miraculously did the Lord preserve them, as not one of them was wounded, save those three who rashly went into the Swamp as aforesaid. When it was near day it grew very dark, so as those of them that were left, dropped away, though they stood but twelve or fourteen foot asunder, and were presently discovered, and some killed in the pursuit. In the searching of the Swamp the next morning, they found nine slain, and some they pulled up, whom the Indians had buried in the Mire: so as they do think that of all this Company not twenty did escape, for they after found some who died in the sight of their wounds received. The Prisoners were divided, some to those of the River, and the rest to us of these parts. We send the Male-children to Bermuda's by Mr. William Pierce, and the Women and Maid-children are disposed about in the Towns. There have been now slain and taken in all, about Seven hundred, the rest are dispersed, and the Indians in all quarters so terrified, as all their friends are afraid to receive them. Two of the Sachems of Long-Island came to Mr. Staughton, and tendered themselves to be under our Protection; and two of the Nepannet Sachems have been with me to seek our Friendship. Among the Prisoners we have the Wife and Children of Mononotto, a woman of a very modest countenance and behaviour: It was by her mediation that the two English Maids were spared from death, and were kindly used by her; so that I have taken charge of her. One of her first requests was, That the English would not abuse her body, and that her Children might not be taken from her. Those which were wounded we fetched soon off by John Gallop, who came with his Boat in an happy hour to bring them Victuals, and to carry their wounded men to the Barque, where our chief Chirurgion was, with Mr. Wilson, being about eight leagues off. Our people are all in health, the Lord be praised: And although they had marched
in

in their Arms all the day, and had been in fight all the night; yet they professed they found themselves so, as they could willingly have gone to such another business: the Captains report we have slain thirteen Sachems, but Sasacus and Monotto are still living, this is the substance of what I have received, though I am forced to omit many considerable circumstances: so being in much straightness of time, the Ships being to depart within this four dayes, and in them the Lord Lee and Mr. Vane; I here break off, and with hearty Salutation, &c. I rest

Your assured Friend,

July 28. 1637.

John Winthrop.

To conclude the discourse of this matter: This Sasacus the *Pegnot Sachem*, being fled to the *Mohawks*, they cut off his head, and some other of the chief of them, whether to satisfie the *English*, or rather the *Narrhagansets* (who as I have heard hired them to do it) or for their own advantage, I know not.

And thus this War took end; the body of this People were wholly subdued, and their Country taken from them, and such of its Inhabitants as had escaped the heat of our revenge, by fire and sword, being nevertheless at the dispose of the Conquerers, were by the *English* appointed some to the *Narrhagansets*, and some to the *Monhegens* under *Unkas* their Sachem, who had been faithful and serviceable to them in this War: yet the *Narrhagansets* were not pleased that themselves had not the sole Government of the Captives, and have since been continually quarrelling with the *Monheags*, and have sometimes been plotting against the *English* also; but to conclude, the *Pegnots* have since been taken under the immediate Government of the *English* Colonies, and live in their own Country, being Governed by such of their own, as are by the *English* substituted and appointed for that purpose.

This year Mr. *William Bradford* was chosen Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*. And

Mr. *Edward Winslow*;
Mr. *Timothy Hatherly*,
Mr. *William Collier*,
Mr. *Thomas Prinee*,
Capt. *Myles Standish*,
And
Mr. *John Jennys*,

Were Chosen his Assistants:
in Government.

Called by the
Dutch
Roebert and
by the Indians
Quinnapiuk.

This Year Mr. *Theophilus Eaton* and Mr. *John Davenport*, accompanied with divers other Christians of special eminency, began the fourth of the United Colonies in *New-England*, called *New-Haven*, where they erected a Church of Christ, which continue in Gospel Order until this day, in an amiable and exemplary manner; notwithstanding they have met with divers losses and crosses, both of eminent and useful Instruments, as also of a great part of their estates, as in special by the loss of Mr. *Lambertons* ship. Of which said Plantation and Colony, I have little to insert, for want of more full and certain intelligence.

About this time there arose great troubles in the Country, especially at *Boston*, by the broaching of *Antinomian* and *Familistical* Opinions; the chief sect-leader thereof, was one Mrs. *Hutchinson*: these carried on their abominable Tenets, with such subtilty, under a pretence of advancing free-grace, and crying up the Covenant of Grace, and down the Covenant of Works; as they took away (by their assertions) Grace from the Covenant; yea so close was this mystery of Iniquity carried on, as that some of the prudentest of the Orthodox party, could not discern it at the first; but at length, the folly of those that were principal therein was made manifest unto all men: the evil consequences thereof faced very sadly, so as it influenced into their Civil State, and caused great disturbance: but by Gods blessing on the improvement of the faithful endeavours
of

of his Servants, the Messengers of the Churches, who were called together as a Synod to help in the case; together with the prudence and industry of sundry principal ones amongst them, both in Church and State at other times: a right understanding of some few things, in difference amongst the sincere and godly, was procured. The Ring-leaders of the Faction being thus detected were censured, not only by the Church, but by the Civil power, and were also condemned to exile; who not knowing where they might sit down safely, made requests unto the Government of *Plimouth*, that they might be at an Island, that they had not hitherto improved, called by the *Indians Aquetnet*, (and by the *English* inhabiting it *Road-Island*) which the Government of *Plimouth* aforesaid, considering they were their Country-men and fellow Subjects that were thus distressed, and destitute of habitation, although they had their errors in as great dislike as those from whence they came, yet pitying them in their present straits, granted their request: so these having there seated themselves, and finding that it was a very fruitful and pleasant place, (such indeed, as that Colony or Jurisdiction hath not any the like left within their Patent.) they soon drew many more unto them, not only to fill up that Island, but have also seated two more Towns on the Main; therein (as is judged) incroaching upon the just rights of the aforesaid Colony of *Plimouth*, and have of late through mis-information obtained a Patent, not only for the places forementioned, but have also extended it into the heart and bowels of the known & possessed rights of the said Colony: endeavoring to requite their kindness, as sometimes it is said the Hedge-hog did by the friendly Coney. But it is our great happiness, that as God takes notice from on high of the unrighteousness and oppression of the sons of men, so he hath given us a gracious Prince, who mindes the peace of His meanest Subjects, from whose Justice and Prudence we do confidently expect relief, and on that assurance do resolve by Gods help to contain our selves from seeking to vindicate our wrongs in such a way as their injurious dealings might provoke unto.

This Year there was a hideous *Monster* born at *Boston* in *New-England*, of one Mrs. *Mary Dyer*, a Co-partner with the said Mrs. *Hutchinson*, in the aforesaid Heresies; the said *Monster* (as it was related to me) *It was without Head, but Horns like a Beast, Scales or a rough skin like the fish called the Thorn-back, it had Leggs and Claws like a Fowl, and in other respects as a Woman Child*: the Lord declaring his detestation of their Monstrous errors (as was then thought by some) by this prodigious Birth.

Not long before these Troubles, there arrived at *Boston* one *Samuel Gorton*, who from thence came to *Plimouth*; and upon his first coming thither, gave some hopes that he would have proved an useful Instrument, but soon after, by little and little, discovered himself to be a proud and pestilent Seducer, and deeply leavened with blasphemous and *Familistical Opinions*: and observing such Fictions to be spread by some of his Spirit already in the Country, he takes his opportunity to begin to sowe such seed at *Plimouth*, whereby some were seduced, in special one *John Weeks* and his Wife, who in some short time became very Atheists, looking for no more happiness then this world affords, not onely in practice such, but also in opinion. But the said *Gorton* falling into some Controversie with one Mr. *Ralph Smith*, was summoned to the Court held at *Plimouth* the fourth of *December* 1638, to Answer the said Mr. *Smiths* Complaint; and there he carried so mutinously and seditiously, as that he was for the same, and for his turbulent carriages towards both Magistrates and Ministers in the presence of the Court, Sentenced to finde Sureties for his good Behaviour, during the time he should stay in the Jurisdiction, which was limited to fourteen dayes; and also Amerced to pay a considerable Fine. In some short time after he departed to *Road-Island*, and in like manner or worse demeaned himself there, so as they were forced to Sentence him to suffer Corporal Punishment by *whipping*, and they Banished him likewise off the Island. And from thence he with divers of his Accomplices went to *Providence*, and there he and they carried so
in

in outrage and riotously, as they were in danger to have caused Bloodshed, so as the Inhabitants some of them, viz. Mr. Roger Williams and others, were constrained to sollicite the Government of the *Massachusetts* for aid, and help them against their Insolencies: And for that end, some of them desired to come under their Jurisdiction, and were accepted. Moreover, several of the poor Neighbouring Natives were so injuriously wronged by them the said Gorton and his Company, they seeking to bereave them of their just Rights of Lands by surreptitious wayes; in special, Pomham and Sakanoko, two petty Sachems living not farre off from Providence, who were bereaved of their just Rights in Lands, by improving the Tyranny of *Miantonimok*, the then chief Sachem of the *Narrhagansets*, for the procuring thereof, which necessitated the said under-Sachems to make their Appeal to the Court of the *Massachusetts* for help in their oppressed condition, subjecting themselves and their Lands unto their Jurisdiction likewise: which caused the said Government to Require their Appearance at Boston, to Answer the Complaints of those oppressed *English* and *Indians*. But notwithstanding they several times sent to them with all gentleness and courteous expressions, they neither appeared, nor sent satisfying Reasons for their absence; but in stead thereof, many insolent, proud, railing, opprobrious Returns: so that the said Government saw there was no remedy; but to send force to constrain them to come, which they accordingly performed, and Committed the said Gorton and several of them to Ward: and during the time of their Imprisonment, they carried still very proudly and audaciously towards all in place of Authority, sparing not to reproach, abuse and traduce the most Honourable and Reverend both in Church and State; and which is yet worse, spared not blasphemously to fly upon the Lord Jesus himself, his Word and Ordinances, in such a manner as scarce in any Age any Hereticks or Apostates have done the like: Not onely abandoning and rejecting all Civil Power and Authority, (except moulded according to their own Fancies) but belching out errours in their *Familiar*

The Answer of Mr E Winslow to Gortons pamphlet, entitled, Simplicities defence against the seven headed policy, will give the Reader a full & particular intelligence concerning all the transactions of these matters and likewise of their damnable Errors.

Horrible Fami-
lism and Blas-
phemy, as if they
were spoken by,
and differ little
from the cursed
doctrine of their
grand Leader
Henry Nicols.

ficall Allegories (if I may so call them) as (to speak with holy reverence) they rendred the Lord Christ no other then an *Imagination*; shunning not blasphemously to say, *That Christ was but a shadow and resemblance of what is done in every Christian*; That Christ was Incarnate in Adam, and was that Image of God wherein Adam was created; and, *That his being born afterwards of the Virgin Mary, and suffering, was but a manifestation of his suffering in Adam*; That Man's losing Gods Image, was the Death of Christ; That Christ is the Covenant properly; and, *That Faith and Christ are all one*: They call the holy Word, and Sermons of Salvation; *Tales*; the Lords-Supper, *An Abomination*, and *A Spell*; Baptism, *Vanity and Abomination*; the Ministers of the Word, *Necromancers*: and by other opprobrious terms villifie and traduce them. Much more might be spoken and mentioned of this stuff, which they have not been ashamed to divulge; but a little is enough: save but to give the Reader to see the Lords goodness towards his poor people in *New-England*, that hath delivered us, and saved us of his grace from their pernicious destructive wayes, and hath so detected their folly, as it is made manifest to all men. In fine, the said Gorton and his fellow-Prisoners were several of them Sentenced to remain in durance in several Towns of the Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts* for six Months, and afterwards Banished.

He was a subtile Deceiver, courteous in his carriage to all at some times (for his own ends) but soon moved with passion, and so lost that which he gained upon the simple. To shut up what I have to say concerning him, which is sad; He is since become a sordid man in his life, as he hath been declared to be in his cursed Principles and Opinions, and hath not shunned to say and affirm, That all the felicity we are like to have, we must expect in this life, and no more: and therefore advised one with whom he had some speech, to *make much of her self for she must expect no more but what she could enjoy in this life* or words to the same effect. Thus evil men and deceivers grow worse. And worse, deceiving and being deceived, 2 Tim. 3. 13.

1638.

This Year Mr. *Thomas Prince* was Chosen Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. <i>William Bradford</i> ,	} were Chosen Assistants in Government.
Mr. <i>Edward Winslow</i> ,	
Captain <i>Miles Standish</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Alden</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Fekny</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Atwood</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Brown</i> ,	

This year three men were Executed for Robbing and Murthering an *Indian* near *Providence*, which besides the Evidence that came against them, they did in substance Confess against themselves, and were Condemned by Legal Tryal. Some have thought it great severity, to Hang three *English* for one *Indian*; but the more Considerate will easily satisfie themselves for the Legality of it: and indeed, should we suffer their Murtherers to go unpunished, we might justly fear that God would suffer them to take a more sharp Revenge. By such Arguments was the Government of *Plimouth* moved by the Government of the *Massachusetts* to do Justice in the case. And here may be noted, That the *Massachusetts* refused this Tryal, as being committed in the Jurisdiction of *Plimouth*; and they of *Road-Island* having Apprehended them, delivered them to the afore-said Jurisdiction of *Plimouth* on the same grounds.

This Year, about the second of *June*, there was a great and fearful Earthquake: It was heard before it came with a rumbling Noise, or low murmure, like unto remote Thunder. It came from the Northwards, and passed Southwards: as the Noise approached near, the Earth began to quake; and it came at length with that violence, as caused Platters, Dishes, and

and such like things which stood upon Shelves, to clatter and fall down; yea, people were afraid of their Houses: and it was so, as that some being without doors could not stand, but were faine to catch hold of Posts and Pales to prevent them from falling. About half an hour after, or less, came another Noise and shaking, but not so loud nor strong as the former. It was not onely on the Land, but at Sea also; for some Ships that were on the Sea coast were shaken by it: so powerful is the mighty hand of the Lord, as to cause both the Earth and Sea to shake, and the Mountains to tremble before him: His way is in the Whirlwind, and the storm and the Clouds are the dust of his feet; the Rocks are thrown down before him: Who can stand before his indignation? and who can abide in the fierceness of his anger?

Nithum 1.
3:4:5 6.

1 6 3 9.

THIS Year Mr. *William Bradford* was Chosen Governour of *Plimouth*:

Mr. <i>Thomas Prince</i> ,	} were Chosen Assistants.
Captain <i>Miles Standish</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Alden</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Brown</i> ,	
Mr. <i>William Collier</i> ,	
Mr. <i>Timothy Hatherly</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Jemmy</i> ,	

This Year *HARVARD COLLEDGE* was Erected at *Cambridge* in *New-England*, which was so called in Remembrance of a worthy Gentleman, who liberally Contributed towards the Charge of the Erecting of it.

This Year the great Sachem *woosamequen*, sometimes called *Massasoiet*, and *Mooanah* his Son, came into the Court held at *Plimouth* in *New-England*, on the Five and twentieth day of

of September, in their own proper persons, and desired that the ancient League and Confederacy formerly made with the Government of *Plimouth* aforesaid, (wherein he acknowledged himself Subject to the King of *England* and his Successors) may stand, and remain inviolable : And the said *Woosamequen* and *Mooanam* his Son, for themselves and their Successors, did faithfully promise to keep and observe the Covenants and Conditions therein expressed and contained, which on their parts are likewise to be kept and observed. And the said *Woosamequen*, and *Mooanam* his Son, did then also promise to the whole Court aforesaid, That he nor they shall nor will needlessly or unjustly raise any quarrels, or do any wrong to other Natives, to provoke them to War against him; and, That he nor they shall not Give, Sell or Convey any of his or their Lands, Territories or Possessions whatsoever, to any person or persons whomsoever, without the privity and consent of the Government of *Plimouth* aforesaid, other then to such as the said Government shall send or appoint. All which Conditions the said *Woosamequen*, and *Mooanam* his Son, for themselves and their Successors, did then faithfully promise to observe and keep. And the whole Court, in the Name of the whole Government, for each Town respectively, did then likewise Ratifie and Confirm the aforesaid ancient League and Confederacy ; and did also further promise to the said *Woosamequen*, and *Mooanam* his Son, and their Successors, That they shall and will from time to time defend the said *Woosamequen*, and *Mooanam* his Son, and their Successors, when need and occasion shall require, against all such as shall unjustly rise up against them to wrong or oppress them unjustly.

He that here is called *Mooanam*, is the same that afterwards was called *Wamsutta* ; it being usual for the Indians to change their Names.

Of this see pag. 24.

1 6 4 0.

MR. *William Bradford* was Elected Governour of the Jurisdiction of *Plimouth*:

Mr. <i>Thomas Prince</i> ,	} were Elected Assistants.
Mr. <i>William Collier</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Brown</i> ,	
Captain <i>Miles Standish</i> ,	
Mr. <i>Timothy Hatherly</i> ,	
and Mr. <i>Edmond Freeman</i> ,	

1 6 4 1.

THis Year Mr. *William Bradford* was Elected Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. <i>Edward Winslow</i> ,	} were Chosen Assistants to him in Government.
Mr. <i>Thomas Prince</i> ,	
Mr. <i>William Collier</i> ,	
Captain <i>Miles Standish</i> ,	
Mr. <i>Timothy Hatherly</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Brown</i> , and Mr. <i>Edmond Freeman</i> ,	

1 6 4 2.

1 6 4 2.

THis Year Mr. *William Bradford* was Elected Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. <i>Edward Winslow</i> ,	} were Elected Assistants to him in Government.
Mr. <i>Thomas Prince</i> ,	
Mr. <i>William Collier</i> ,	
Mr. <i>Timothy Hatherly</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Brown</i> ,	
Mr. <i>William Thomas</i> , and	
Mr. <i>Edmond Freeman</i> ,	

In reference unto the three years last specified, although I have no special Providence to take notice of, particularly to assign to each of them, save the continuance of Gods mercy and goodness in the Annual Election of godly and able Magistrates in the Jurisdiction of *Plimouth*, as is before-noted; yet notwithstanding we are to take notice of the continued Peace and Plenty, with which not onely these three years (restrictively considered) but also for many years together both before and after them, *New-England* was so marvellously gratiated. But that which is more, that about these times the Lord was pleased of his great goodness richly to accomplish and adorn the Colony of *Plimouth* (as well as other Colonies in *New-England*) with a considerable number of godly and able Gospel-Preachers, who then being dispersed and disposed of to the severall Churches and Congregations thereof, gave Light in a glorious and resplendent manner, as burning and shining Lights: Which mercy and transcendent favour, had not Sin and Satans envy interposed, might have rendred them greatly happy and prosperous; it being observed, That where Gospel-dispensation flourisheth, there Prosperity in other respects may usually be expected.

Inreference unto the honour of God, and due respects unto such worthy Instruments, I thought meet to nominate some of the speciallest of them, viz.

Mr. <i>Charles Chauncy,</i>	Mr. <i>Samuel Newman,</i>
Mr. <i>William Hook,</i>	Mr. <i>William Leverich,</i>
Mr. <i>Nicholas Street,</i>	Mr. <i>Richard Blinman,</i>
Mr. <i>John Laythrop,</i>	Mr. <i>Edward Bulkly,</i>
Mr. <i>John Mayo,</i>	Mr. <i>John Miller,</i>
Mr. <i>John Reyner,</i>	Mr. <i>Marmaduke Matthews,</i>
Mr. <i>Ralph Partridge,</i>	

With some others that might be named. These some of them stayed not long ere they removed, some into the Neighbour-Colonies, some into *Old-England*, and others to their Eternal Rest, whereby the said Jurisdiction was wanting in a great measure for some time of such a Blessing: Howbeit, the Lord hath since graciously raised up a supply to divers of the said Congregations, and more may be expected according to his Promises.

I 6 4 3.

THIS Year Mr. *William Bradford* was elected Governour. of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*; And

Mr. <i>Edward Winslow</i>	} were chosen his Assistants in Government.
Mr. <i>Thomas Prince,</i>	
Mr. <i>William Collier,</i>	
Mr. <i>Timothy Hatherly,</i>	
Mr. <i>John Brown,</i>	
Mr. <i>Edmond Freeman,</i>	
And Mr. <i>William Thomas,</i>	

This Year about the eighteenth day of *April* died Mr. *William*

liam Brewster, the Ruling Elder of the Church of Christ at *Plimouth*; concerning whom, I could say much of mine own knowledge; but I shall content my self, only to insert the honourable Testimony that Mr. *William Bradford* deceased, hath left written with his own hand, concerning him.

Saith he, *My dear Friend Mr. William Brewster was a man that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus, and the Gospels sake, and hath born his part in weal and woe, with this poor persecuted Church, above thirty six years, in England, Holland, and in this Wilderness; and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling: and notwithstanding the many troubles and sorrows he passed through, the Lord upheld him to a great age; he was four score and four years of age when he died; he had this blessing added by the Lord to all the rest, to dye in his bed in peace amongst the midst of his friends, who mourned and wept over him, and ministred what help and comfort they could unto him; and he again recompensed them whiles he could: his sickness was not long, and until the last day thereof, he did not wholly keep his bed, his speech continued until somewhat more then half a day before his death, and then failed him, and about nine or ten of the clock that evening he died without any pangs at all; a few hours before, he drew his breath short, and some few minutes before his last, he drew his breath long, as a man fallen into a sound sleep, without any pangs or gasping, and so sweetly departed this life unto a better.*

The death of
Mr. William
Brewster

I would now demand of any, What he was the worse for former sufferings? What, do I say worse? no, he was the better, and they now added to his honor: It is a manifest token (saith the Apostle) 2 Thess. 1. 5, 6, 7. *of the righteous Judgement of God, that we may be counted worthy of the Kingdom of God, for which we also suffer; seeing it is a righteous thing with God, to recompence tribulation to them that trouble you, and to you who are troubled, rest with us when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from Heaven, with his mighty Angels; and if you be reproached (saith the Apostle* 1 Pet. 4. 14. *Peter) for the Name of Christ, happy are ye, for the Spirit of God and of Glory shall rest upon you: what though he wanted the riches and pleasures of the World in this life, and Pom-*

Prov. 10 17.

pous monuments of his Funeral? yet the memorial of the Just shall be blessed, when the name of the wicked shall rot (with their Marble Monuments.) He was well educated in learning, as at inferiour Schools, so also at the University; and from thence went to the Court, and there served Mr. Davison a godly Gentleman, and Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, and attended him on his Embassage into Holland, and was imployed by him in matters of greatest trust; as in keeping of the Keys of the Cautionary Towns delivered up to him for her Majesty, and things of the like nature; his Master would alwayes in private confer with him as a friend or equal: he afterwards lived in good esteem in his own Country, and did much good, until the troubles of those times enforced his remove into Holland, and so into New-England, and was in both places of singular use and benefit to the Church and People of Plimouth whereof he was; being eminently qualified for such work as the Lord had appointed him unto, of which should I speak particularly as I might, I should prove tedious: I shall content my self therefore only to have made honorable mention in general of so worthy a man.

And here I might take occasion to mention with admiration, the marvellous providence of God, that notwithstanding the many changes and hardships that this people, viz. the first Planters at *New Plimouth* went through, and the many Enemies they had, and difficulties they met withal, that so many of them should live until very old age: It was not only this Reverend mans condition, but many more of them did the like; some dying before and about this time, and some living, who attained to sixty years of age, and to sixty five, divers to seventy, and some to more then eighty as he did: It must needs be more then ordinary, and above naturall reason that so it should be; for it is found in experience, that changing of Air, Famine, and unwholsome Food, much drinking of Water, Sorrows. and Troubles &c. all of them are enemies to health, causes of much diseases, consumers of natural vigor, and the bodies of men, and shortners of life; and yet of all these things they had a large and long part, and suffered deeply in the same: they

they went from *England* to *Holland*, where they found both worse Air & Diet, then that they came from; from thence, enduring a long imprisonment in the ships at Sea into *New-England*; & how it hath been with them here hath already been shewn, & what crosses, troubles, fears, wants and sorrows they have been liable unto, is easily to be discerned, so as in some sort they may say with the Apostle, *they were in Journeys often, in perils of Waters, in perils of Robbers, in perils of their own Nation, in perils amongst the Heathen, in perils in the Wilderness, in perils in the Sea, in perils amongst false Brethren, in weariness, in painfulness, in watching often, in hunger, thirst, in fasting often, in cold and nakedness*: What was it then that upheld them? It was Gods visitation that preserved their spirits; he that upheld the Apostle, upheld them: *They were persecuted but not forsaken, cast down but perished not, as unknown and yet known, as dying and behold we live, as chastened and yet not killed.* 1 Cor. 11. 26. 27. Job 10. 12. 2 Cor. 4. 9. 2 Cor. 9. 6.

God (it seems) would have all men behold such works of his Providence, as these are towards his people, that they in like cases might be encouraged to depend upon him in their trials, and also bless his Name when they see his goodness towards others; *Man lives not by bread only*: It is not by dainty fare, peace, rest and hearts ease, in enjoying contentments and good things of this World only, that preserves health and prolongs life: God (in such examples) would have the World take notice, that he can do it without them; and if the World will shut their eyes and take no notice thereof, yet he would have his people to see and consider it: *Daniel* could be in better liking with *Pulse*, then with the Kings dainties; *Jacob*, though he went from one Nation to another People, and passed through Famine, Fears and many afflictions, yet he lived until old age, and died sweetly and rested in the Lord, as many others of Gods servants have done, and still do through Gods goodness, notwithstanding all the malice of their enemies; *When the branch of the wicked shall be cut off before his day, and the bloody and deceitful man shall not live out half his dayes.* Deut. 8. 3. Job 55. 32. Psal. 55. 23.

By reason of the plotting of the *Narrhagansets* ever since the *Pequot*:

Pequot War, the *Indians* were drawn into a general conspiracy against the *English* in all parts, as was in part discovered the year before, and now made more plain and evident, by many discoveries and free confessions of sundry *Indians*, upon several occasions, from divers places, concurring in one; with such other concurring circumstances, as gave the *English* sufficiently to understand the truth thereof, and to think of means how to prevent the same. In which respect, together with divers other and more weighty reasons, the four Colonies (*viz.*) the *Massachusetts*, *Plimouth*, *Connecticut* and *New-Haven*, entred into a more near Union and Confederation the nineteenth day of *May* 1643. and the Articles of the said confederation were signed by the Commissioners of the said Jurisdictions respectively, by which were Authorized thereunto. *viz.*

John Winthrop Governour of the *Massachusetts*.
Thomas Dudley.
Edward Winslow.
William Collier.
Edward Hopkins.
Thomas Grigson.
Theophilus Eaton.
George Fenwick.

The said Articles at large, with sundry other particulars appertaining thereunto, together with the particulars concerning the plotting, contrivements, menacings and insolencies of the *Narrhagansets* against the *English*, together with the provision and preparation made by the *English* for an expedition against them, with the yieldings and compliance of the said *Narrhagansets* to the *English*, and the Composition and Articles of agreement made with them, &c. these are all to be seen as they are at large extant in the Records of the Commissioners for the United Colonies of *New-England*, whereunto I refer the Reader.

See Acts of the
 Commissioners
 for the united
 Colonies of N. E.
 A. 1644. and
 1645.

I 6 4 4.

THIS Year Mr. *Edward Winslow* was Elected Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. <i>William Bradford</i> ,	} were Elected his Assistants in Government.
Mr. <i>Thomas Prince</i> ,	
Mr. <i>William Collier</i> ,	
Mr. <i>Timothy Hatherly</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Brown</i> ,	
Mr. <i>William Thomas</i> ,	
Mr. <i>Edmond Freeman</i> ,	

This Year Mr. *John Atwood* died, he was a godly man, singularly endowed with the grace of Patience, and having a large estate became a useful benefactor to the Colonie of *New-Plimouth*; he departed this life, expressing great Faith in Christ, and a cheerful expectation of the restoration of his body at the general Resurrection in Glory.

This Year many of the Town of *Plimouth*, by reason of some straights that were upon them, took up thoughts of removing to some other place for their better accommodation, and for that end made a more exact and particular discovery of a place called by the *Indians*, *Namsfet*; which place being purchased by them of the *Indians*, divers of the considerablest of the Church and Town removed thither, and erected a Town, which is now called by the name of *Eastham*.

1645.

THis year Mr. *William Bradford* was Elected Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*. And

Mr. *Edward Winslow*,
 Mr. *Thomas Prince*,
 Mr. *William Collier*,
 Capt. *Ayles Standish*,
 Mr. *Timothy Hatherly*,
 Mr. *John Brown*, &
 Mr. *Edmond Freeman*,

} Were Elected his Assistants in Government.

This meeting
 was held the 28
 of July, 1645.

The Commissioners of the United Colonies of *New-England* were called together this Year, before their ordinary time of meeting, partly in regard of some differences between the *French* and the Government of the *Massachusetts*, about their aiding of *Monseir Larore* against *Monseir de Aulney*, and partly about the *Indians*, who had broken their former agreements about the peace concluded the year before; as concerning such conclusions and determinations which passed in this meeting, in reference to the premises, I shall refer the Reader unto the Acts of the said Commissioners for that Year, as they are recorded at large.

1646.

I 6 4 6.

This Year Mr. *William Bradford* was Chosen Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. <i>Edward Winslow</i> ,	} were Elected his Assistants in Government.
Mr. <i>Thomas Prince</i> ,	
Mr. <i>William Collier</i> ,	
Captain <i>Miles Standish</i> ,	
Mr. <i>Timothy Hatherly</i> ,	
And	
Mr. <i>Edmond Fretman</i> ,	

About the middle of *May* this Year, there came three Men of War into *Plimouth Harbour*, under the command of Captain *Thomas Cromwel*, who had taken several Prizes from the *Spaniards*, by Commission from the Earl of *Warwick*: they were full of monies, silks, and other rich goods, some of which they left behinde them. They were a company of lusty stout men, but very unruly and hard to govern; notwithstanding the care and vigilance, both of such as were in Authority of *Plimouth*, and also of their own Commanders, who could hardly restrain them, especially from inordinate drinking and quarrelling: It proved fatal to one of them, who being quarrelling with one of their own company, and being commanded by their Captain to forbear, he giving very provoking Language, and also attempting to draw upon his Captain; he took his Rapier from him, and struck him on the head, with the Hilt, of which wound, three or four dayes after he died: the Captain was tried by a Council of War, and acquitted by the largeness of his Commission.

This Year Mr. *Edward Winslow* went for *England*, upon occasion that some discontented persons, under the Government of the *Massachusetts*, sought to trouble their peace, and

disturb, if not innovate their Government, by laying many scandals upon them, and intended to prosecute against them in *England*, by Petitioning and Complaining to the *Parliament*. Also *Samuel Gorton* and his company, made complaint against them; so as they made choice of Mr. *Winslow* to be their Agent to make their defence, and gave him Commission and Instructions for that end: in which he so carried himself, as did well answer their ends, and cleared them from any blame and dishonour, to the shame of their Adversaries. After this he fell upon other employments in *England*, which detained him there, so as he returned not again to *New-England* any more, whose absence hath been much to the weakening of the Government of *New-Plimouth*, who had large experience of his help and usefulness amongst them in Government, &c. of whom I have more to insert in honour of so worthy a Gentleman in its more proper place.

1 6 4 7.

MR. *William Bradford* was Elected Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*;

Mr. *Edward Winslow*,
 Mr. *Thomas Prince*,
 Mr. *William Collier*,
 Mr. *Timothy Hatherly*,
 Captain *Miles Standish*,
 Mr. *John Brown*, And
 Mr. *William Thomas*,

} were Elected his Assistants in Government.

This

This Year the whole Land, but more especially the Church and Town of *Hartford* on *Connecticut*, sustained a great and more then ordinary Loss; by the Death of that most eminent Servant of Jesus Christ Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, who in the Month of *July* in this year changed this Life for a better: *The Death of Mr. Hooker.* Concerning whose Piety, Learning, and singular dexterity in Preaching the Gospel with answerable success, the many Souls wrought upon by his Ministry in both *Old-England* and *New*, do give forth a large Testimony; and withall, as an addition to the former, those Learned and Profitable Works penned by him for the Refutation of Errour; and guiding and confirming of the Saints in the Wayes of Christ: In which respects, with others, his Name will live, and is Embalmed; and doth remain, and will be as a precious Oyntment in the Churches, and amongst the Saints, in present and future Ages.

This special Servant of Christ, as he served his Master with great Zeal, Love, Wisdom, and Sincerity; so he ended his Life with much Comfort and Serenity: so as it is rare that was said of him; That *the peace which he had in believing thirty years before his death, was firm and not touched by the Adversary untill the period of his life*: And with much joy and peace in believing he fell asleep in the Lord, and was honourably buried at *Hartford* on *Connecticut*.

In whose Memorial, I shall here insert the Funeral *Elegies* of two eminent Divines, written upon his Death.

*On my Reverend and dear Brother, Mr. Thomas Hooker,
Late Pastor of the Church at Hartford on Connecticut.*

TO see three things was holy Austins wish,
Rome in her Flower, Christ Jesus in the Flesh,
And Paul's Pulpit: Lately men might see,
Two first, and more, in Hookers Ministry.

Zion in Beauty, is a fairer sight,
Then Rome in Flower, with all her glory dight:

*Yet Zions Beauty did most clearly shine
In Hookers Rule, and Doctrine: both Divine.*

*Christ in the Spirit, is more then Christ in Flesh,
Our Souls to quicken, and our States to bless?
Yet Christ in Spirit brake forth mightily,
In faithful Hookers searching Ministry.*

*Paul in the Pulpit, Hooker could not reach;
Yet did He Christ in Spirit so lively preach,
That living Hearers thought He did inherit
A double Portion of Pauls lively spirit.*

*Prudent in Rule, in Argument quick, full:
Fervent in Prayer, in Preaching powerfull:
That well did learned Ames record bear,
The like to Him he never wont to hear.*

*'Twas of Geneva's Worthies said, with Wonder,
(Those Worthies Three.) Farell was wont to Thunder;
Viret, like Rain, on tender grafs to shower;
But Calvin, lively Oracles to pour.*

*All these in Hookers spirit did remain:
A Son of Thunder, and a Shower of Rain,
A pourer forth of Lively Oracles,
In saving Souls, the sum of Miracles.*

*Now blessed Hooker, thou art set on high,
Above the thankless world, and cloudy skie:
Do thou of all thy labour reap the Crown,
Whilst we here reap the seed which thou hast sown.*

J. C.

A Lamentation for the Death of that Precious and Worthy Minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, who died July 7. 1647. as the Sun was Setting: the same hour of the day died blessed *Calvin*, that glorious Light.

Come sighs, come sorrows, let's lament this Rod,
Which hath bereav'd us of this Man of God:
A Man of God, which came from God to men,
And now from them is gone to God agen.
Bid Joy depart, bid Merriment be gone;
Bid Friends stand by, sit sorrowful alone.
But ah! what sorrow can be to suffice,
Though Heaven and Earth were filled with our cries,
The Clouds were turned into drops of tears,
The Mourning for to last an Age of Years?
'Twere all too little to lament his death,
Whose life so precious was for Heaven and Earth.
Job wish'd his day might quite forgotten me,
Which brought him forth this Worlds light first to see:
O let not the day numbred be i'th Tear,
That took this Light out of our Hemisphere.
A fatal day, a day of sad presage
To us survivors of this present Age:
The hour of thy decease when Sun went down,
When light turn'd dark, when heavens began to frown.
'Tis ominous to us who saw his light,
That Grace provok'd should turn our day to night;
And Gospels light which shineth from on high,
Should clouded be, and darkned in our skie.
O happy dayes, when such Lights shine on Earth!
O bitter dayes, when they are hid beneath!
This is our grief, He which late shin'd on high
Is hid in grave, and now beneath doth lye.
Let Hartford sigh, and say, I've lost a Treasure;
Let all New-England mourn at Gods Displeasure,

In

*In taking from us one more gracious,
 Then is the Gold of Ophir precious,
 Sweet was the savour which his grace did give,
 It season'd all the place where he did live:
 His Name did as an Ointment give it's finell,
 And all bare witness that it savour'd well.
 Wisdome, Love, Meekness, Friendly Courtesie,
 Each Moral Virtue, with rare Pietie,
 Pure Zeal, yet mixt with mildest Clemency,
 Did all conspire in this one Brest to lye.
 Deep was his Knowledge, Judgement was acute;
 His Doctrine solid, which none could confute.
 To Minde he gave light of intelligence,
 And search'd the corners of the Conscience:
 To Sinners stout, which no Law could bring under,
 To them he was a Son of dreadful Thunder,
 When all strong Oaks of Bashan us'd to quake,
 And fear did Lebanon his Cedars shake;
 The stoutest Hearts he filled full of fears,
 He cliv'd the Rocks, they melted into tears.
 Yet to sad Souls, with sense of Sin cast down,
 He was a Son of Consolation.
 Sweet peace he gave to such as were contrite;
 Their darkness sad he turn'd to joyous light.
 Of Preaching he had learn'd the rightest Art,
 To every one dividing his own part.
 Each Ear that heard him said, He spake to me:
 So piercing was his holy Ministrie.
 His Life did shine, Times Changes stain'd it not,
 Envy it self could not there finde a spot.
 Had he surviv'd to finish Works begun,
 'T had been a Blessing to all Christendome:
 Then should the world have known what God had shew'd him,
 And what themselves for all his Works had ow'd him.
 But this unthankfull Age is now cut short
 Of that rich Treasure, 'cause they car'd not for't.*

O that

O that his love may turn us, yet to prize
The blessings yet enjoy'd: herein be wise;
Lest that which he not long ago foretold,
Be now in us fulfill'd, as 'twas of old,
That wantonness of Churches, would bereave
Them of their Ministers, without their leave.
God plaguing this his messengers contempt,
With this soul-destroying Plague and Punishment
But whatsoever wrath doth us abide,
Whatever plague for sin doth us betide,
Yet thou, O blessed Saint, art now at rest,
In bosom of thy Christ which is the best
Bathing in rivers of divine pleasure,
Which is at Gods right hand, most sweet and pure;
Tasting the fruit of all thy labours spent,
To honour God which was thy whole intent.
From God thou camest forth, who sent thee hither
And now hath call'd thee back to live together;
Him didst thou serve, while life and breath did last,
With him now blest, while life and breath is past.
Sense of our loss would call thee back again,
But out of love, we bid thee there remain,
Till we yet left behind our course fulfil,
To meet thee on the top of Zion hill;
When thou and we shall both rejoyce together,
So fast united as no death shall sever;
Both to sing praises to our heavenly King,
Who hath us saved from deaths poisonous sting,
And will restore our bodies from the grave
Which them to dust of death consumed have;
Making them shine, like brightness of the Sun
With Glory, ne'r to end when once begun.
Let Heaven, and Earth, Angels, and Men him praise,
Sounding his Glory past all length of dayes.

1 6 4 8.

THIS Year Mr. *William Bradford* was elected Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*: And

Mr. <i>Thomas Prince</i> ,	} were chosen his Assistants in Government.
Mr. <i>William Collier</i> ,	
Captain <i>Miles Standish</i> ,	
Mr. <i>Timothy Hatherly</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Brown</i> ,	
Mr. <i>William Thomas</i> ,	

1 6 4 9.

THIS Year Mr. *William Bradford* was Elected Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. <i>Thomas Prince</i> ,	} were Chosen his Assistants in Government.
Mr. <i>William Collier</i> ,	
Captain <i>Miles Standish</i>	
Mr. <i>Timothy Hatherly</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Brown</i> ,	
And	
Mr. <i>William Thomas</i> ,	

The death of
Mr. Winthrop.

This Year Mr. *John Winthrop* Governour of the Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts* deceased, the twenty sixth day of *March*, about ten of the clock. He was singular for Piety, Wisdom, and of a publick spirit; he brought over a great estate into the Country, and partly by his liberality, & partly by the unfaithfulness of his Bailly, spent the most part of it, so as when he died, he
was

was but low in that respect: and yet notwithstanding, very much honoured and beloved of the most, and continued in the place of Governour for the most part until his death, which was much lamented by many. He was a man of unbyassed Justice, patient in respect of personal wrongs and injuries, a great lover of the Saints, especially able Ministers of the Gospel; very sober in desiring, and temperate in improving earthly contentments; very humble, courteous, and studious of general good. His body was with great solemnity and honour, buried at *Boston in New-England*, the third of *April*, 1649.

This year some parts of the Country was much troubled with numerable hosts of *Caterpillars*, which destroyed the fruits of the earth in divers places; and did eat off the leaves of the trees, so as they looked as bare as if it had been winter: and in some places did eat the leaves from off the Pease straw, and did not eat the Pease. It pleased God to give them a check, and a rebuke, so as they hurt but in some places, and of his goodness in short time removed them.

An innumerable company of caterpillars in some parts of the Country.

This Year *August 25.* that faithful and eminent servant of Christ Mr. *Thomas Shepard* died, who was a soul-searching Minister of the Gospel, and Pastor of the Church of Christ at *Cambridge*. By his death not only that Church and people, but also all *New-England* sustained a very great loss: he not only preached the Gospel profitably and very successively, but also hath left behinde him divers worthy works of special use, in reference unto the clearing up the state of the soul to God-ward; the benefit thereof, those can best experience, who are most conversant in the improving of them, and have Gods blessing on them therein to their souls good. His body was honourably buried at *Cambridge in New-England*.

Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, for their works follow them. Rev. 13. 13.

This Year there passed an Act of Parliament in *England*, for the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst the *Indians in New-England*; in reference unto the furtherance and advancement of so good a work, a Corporation

tion of sixteen Select men were appointed, consisting of a President, Treasurer, and Assistants, called by the name of the President and Society for the propagation of the Gospel in *New-England*, to receive such sums of money, as from time to time was, or should be collected and raised by the liberal contributions of such as whose hearts God was pleased to stir up to so glorious a work; and it was by the same Parliament Enacted, that the Commissioners for the United Colonies of *New-England*, for the time being, by themselves or such as they shall appoint, shall have Power and Authority to receive and dispose of the said monies brought in & paid to the said Treasurer for the time being; or any other Monies, Goods or Commodities acquired and delivered by the care of the said Corporation at any time: whose receipt or receipts of such Person or Persons so Authorized by them, shall be a sufficient discharge to the said Corporation and Treasurer. The particulars of such Orders and Instructions, with which the said Act is invested; the Reader may be more amply satisfied in, by the perusal thereof, as it is extant bearing date, *July 27. 1649.*

Moreover, let the Reader take notice of the special favour of Almighty God, in moving the heart of the *Kings Majesty*, since his Restoration to his Crown and Regal Dignity, particularly of his Royal Favour to countenance this work, and to secure what hath been, and what may be given toward this work, by a legal settlement, which before was wanting; so as the said glorious design hath been vigorously carried on, both in *Old England* and in *New*, by such active and faithful Instruments as God hath raised up and improved therein, with some considerable success. The work coming on to such perfection, as that the Holy Bible is Translated and Printed in the *Indian Language*; whereby the glad tidings of the Gospel is, and may be communicated to them with the greater facility: some souls also of them being gained (as may be hoped) to believe on the Lord Jesus for life everlasting; and daily hopes of further and greater success in that behalf, for which unspeakable riches of his grace, let his Holy Name have all the praise throughout all ages.

The

The Principal Instruments improved in Preaching
the Gospel of Christ unto the *Indians*, are

Mr. *John Eliot* Senior.
Mr. *John Eliot* Junior.
Mr. *Thomas Mayhew*.
Mr. *Pierſon*
Mr. *Brown*.
Mr. *James*.
Mr. *Cotton*.

Besides, divers of their own Nation, whose Names and
number I know not.

1 6 5 0.

THIS Year Mr. *William Bradford* was Elected Governour
of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. *Edward Winslow*,
Mr. *Thomas Prince*,
Mr. *William Collier*,
Captain *Miles Standish*,
Mr. *Timothy Hatherly*,
Mr. *John Brown*, and
Mr. *William Thomas*,

} Chosen Assistants to him
in Government.

This Year there was more then ordinary mortality in the
Country, especially about *Boston*, and mostly amongst their
Children: since which time, several diseases have been in the
Country more frequently then formerly; as namely, gripings
in the bowels, with violent Vomiting and Purging, which hath
taken away many: as also a disease in the Mouth or Throat,

*New diseases
the fruits of
new sins*

which,

which hath proved mortal to some in a very short time; as also great distempers of Colds, &c. which ought to be awakening dispensations, together with others, to cause us to consider and examine, whether we have not provoked the Lord with some general and unwonted sins; inasmuch as he is pleased to exercise the Country oft-times with unwonted afflictions and punishments.

1 6 5 1.

THis Year Mr. *William Bradford* was Elected Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. <i>Thomas Prince</i> ,	} were Chosen his Assistants in Government.
Mr. <i>William Collier</i> ,	
Captain <i>Miles Standish</i> ,	
Mr. <i>Timothy Hatherly</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Brown</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Alden</i> ,	
Captain <i>Thomas Willet</i> ,	

This Year Mr. *William Thomas* expired his natural life, in much peace and comfort; he served in the place of Magistracy in the Jurisdiction of *Plimouth* divers Years; he was a well approved and a well grounded Christian; well read in the Holy Scriptures, and other approved Authors, and a good lover and approver of Godly Ministers and good Christians, and one that had a sincere desire to promote the common good both of Church and State. He died of a Consumption, and was honourably buried at *Marshfield*, in the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*.

Mr. *William Thomas* his death.

1 6 5 2.

THis year Mr. *William Bradford* was Elected Governour
of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*. And

Mr. *Thomas Prince*,
Capt. *Myles Standish*,
Mr. *Timothy Hatherly*,
Mr. *John Brown*,
Mr. *John Alden*,
Captain *Thomas Willet*, &
Lieut. *Thomas Southworth*

Were Chosen his Assistants
in Government.

This Year that blessed Servant of God, Mr. *John Cotton* died; he was sometimes Preacher of Gods Word at *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, and from thence came over into *New-England*, in the Year 1633, and was chosen Teacher of the first Church of Christ at *Boston*: for which Function and Office, he was greatly enriched with gifts & abilities; being an able expounder, and faithful applier of the Word of God; furnished also with wisdom and prudence to go before the Church, in the ordering of the affairs thereof; endowed also with meekness of spirit, whereby he was fited to compose such differences as did at any time arise amongst them: he was very patient also in respect unto personal wrongs or injuries done unto himself, yea, towards his sharpest Antagonists. An influence of good, not only flowed from him unto the Church over whom he was set, but also into all the Churches in *New-England* (as necessity required.) About the time of his sickness, there appeared in the Heavens, over *New-England*, a Comet, giving a dim light; and so waxed dimmer and dimmer, until it became quite extinct and went out, which time of its being extinct, was soon after the time of the period of his life: it being a very signal testimony, that God had then removed a bright Star, a burning and shining light out

of Mr. Cottons Life, Mr. Norton hath Penned a Booke wherunto I refer for the Reader for more full relation of the same.

A Comet seen at the time of Mr. Cottons sickness, and went out soon after his death.

of

of the heaven of his Church here, unto Cœlestial glory above. He was buried at *Boston* in *New-England*, with great Honour and Lamentation, in the Year above written.

Upon whose never enough deplored death, were made these Verses following.

A Funeral Elegie upon the death of the truly Reverend Mr. *John Cotton*, late Teacher of the Church of Christ at *Boston* in *New-England*.

ANd after Winthrop's, Hooker's, Shepard's *Herse*,
 Doth Cotton's death call for a mourning Verse?
 Thy will be done: yet Lord who dealest thus,
 Make this great death expedient for us.
 Luther pull'd down the Pope, Calvin the Prelate *due*:
 Of Calvin's Lapse, chief cure to Cotton's *due*.
 Cotton whose Learning, Temper, Godliness,
 The German Phoenix lively did express.
 Melancthon's all, may Luthers word but pass;
 Melancthons all, in our great Cotton was.
 Then him in flesh, scarce dwelt a better one:
 So great's our loss, when such a Spirit's gone.
 Whilst He was here, Life was more Life to me;
 Now He is not, Death hence less Death shall be.
 That Comets, great Mens deaths do oft forego,
 This present Comet doth too sadly show.
 This Prophet dead, yet must in's Doctrine speak
 This Comet saith, else must New-England break.
 What ere it be, the Heavens avert it far,
 That Meteors should succeed our greatest Star.
 In Boltons Orb, Winthrop and Cotton were;
 These Lights extinct, dark is our Hemisphere.
 In Boston once how much shin'd of our glory,
 We now lament, Posterity will story.

Let

*Let Boston live, who had, and saw their worth:
And did them Honour, both in life and death,
To him New-England-trust in this distress,
Who will not leave his exiles comfortless:*

P. N.

Upon the TOMB of the most Reverend Mr. *John Cotton*,
late Teacher of the Church of *Boston* in *New-England*.

Here lies magnanimous Humility,
Majesty, Meekness; Christian Apathy
On soft Affections: Liberty in thrall;
A Noble Spirit, Servant unto all.
Learnings great Master-piece; who yet would sit
As a Disciple at his Schollars feet.
A simple Serpent, or Serpentine Dove,
Made up of Wisdom, Innocence, and Love.
Neatness Embroider'd with it self alone;
And Civils Canonized in a Gown:
Embracing old and young, and low and high;
Ethicks imbodyed in Divinity:
Ambitious to be lowest, and to raise
His Brethrens Honour on his own Decays.
Thus doth the Sun retire into his bed,
That being gone, the Stars may shew their head.
Could wound at Argument without Division;
Cut to the quick, and yet make no Incision:
Ready to Sacrifice Domestick Notions
To Churches Peace, and Ministers Devotions.
Himself indeed (and singular in that)
Whom all admired, he admired not.
Liv'd like an Angel of a Mortal Birth,
Convers'd in Heaven while he was on Earth:
Though not (as Moses) radiant with Light,
Whose Glory dazell'd the beholders sight;

T

Yet

Yet so divinely beautif'd, you'd count
 He had been born and bred upon the Mount.
 A living breathing Bible : Tables where
 Both Covenants at large engraven were ;
 Gospel and Law in's Heart had each its Colume
 His Head an Index to the Sacred Volume.
 His very Name a Title Page ; and next,
 His Life a Commentary on the Text.
 O what a Monument of glorious worth,
 When in a New Edition he comes forth
 Without Errata's, may we think hee'll be,
 In Leaves and Covers of Eternitie !
 A man of Might at heavenly Eloquence,
 To fix the Ear, and charm the Conscience ;
 As if Apollos were reviv'd in him,
 Or he had learned of a Seraphim.
 Spake many Tongues in one : one Voice and Sense
 Wrought Joy and Sorrow, Fear and Confidence.
 Rocks rent before him, Blinde receiv'd their sight,
 Souls levell'd to the dunghil, stood upright.
 Infernal Furies burst with rage to see
 Their Prisoners captiv'd into Libertie.
 A Star that in our Eastern England rose,
 Thence hurry'd by the Blast of stupid foes,
 Whose foggy Darknes, and benumbed Senses,
 Brook'd not his daz'ling fervent Influences.
 Thus did he move on Earth from East to West ;
 There he went down, and up to Heaven for Rest.
 Nor from himself, whilst living doth he vary,
 His Death hath made him an Ubiquitary.
 Where is his Sepulchre is hard to tell,
 Who in a thousand Sepulchres doth dwell ;
 (Their Hearts, I mean, whom he hath left behind,)
 In them his Sacred Relique's now Enshrin'd.
 But let his Mourning Flock be comforted,
 Though Moses be, yet Joshua is not dead :

I mene

*I mean Renowned NORTON; worthy hee
 Successor to our MOSES is to bee,
 O happy Israel in AMERICA,
 In such a MOSES such a JOSHUA.*

B. W.

1 6 5 3.

MR. William Bradford was Elected Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. Thomas Prince, Captain Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, Captain Thomas Willet, & Lieut. Thomas Southworth,	}	were Chosen his Assi- stants in Government.
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Mr. Thomas Dudley, who was a principal Founder and Pillar of the Colony of the *Massachusetts* in *New-England*, and sundry times Governour and Deputy Governour of that Jurisdiction, died at his house in *Roxbury*, July 31. in the seventy seventh Year of his age: he was a person of quick understanding, and solid Judgement in the fear of the Lord; he was a lover of (1) Justice. (2) Order. (3) the People. (4) Christian Religion; the supreme virtues of a good Magistrate.

1. His love to Justice appeared at all times, and in special upon the Judgement seat, without respect of persons in Judgement: and in his own particular transactions, with all men he was exact and exemplary. 2. His zeal to Order appeared in contriving good Laws, and faithfully executing them upon criminal offenders, Hereticks, and Underminers of true Religion. He had a piercing Judgement to discover the Wolf, though cloathed

with a sheep-skin. 3. His love to the People was evident in serving them in a publick capacity many Years, at his own cost, and that as a nursing Father to the Churches of Christ. 4. He loved the true Christian Religion, and the pure Worship of God, and cherished as in his bosom, all godly Ministers and Christians: he was exact in the practice of Piety, in his person and family all his life; in a word, he lived desired, and died lamented by all good men.

The Verses following were found in his Pocket after his death, which may further illustrate his Character, and give a taste of his poetical fancy: wherein (it is said) he did excel.

DIm Eyes, deaf Ears, cold stomach shew
My dissolution is in view.
 Eleven times seven near liv'd have I,
 And now God calls, I willing die:
 My Shuttle's shot, my race is run,
 My Sun is set, my Deed is done;
 My Span is measur'd, Tale is told,
 My Flower is faded and grown old,
 My Dream is vanish'd, Shadow's fled,
 My Soul with Christ, my Body dead.
 Farewel dear Wife, Children, and Friends,
 Hate Heresie, make blessed ends;
 Bear Poverty, live with good men,
 So shall we meet with joy agen,

*Let men of God in Courts and Churches watch
 O're such as do a Toleration hatch;
 Left that ill Egg bring forth a Cockatrice,
 To poyson all with Heresie and Vice.
 If men be left and otherwise combine,
 My Epitaph's, I dy'd no Libertine.*

This Year Mr. John Laythrop did put off his Earthly Tabernacle: He was sometimes Preacher of Gods Word in Egerton
 in

in *Kent*, from whence he went to *London*, and was chosen Pastor of a Church of Christ there; he was greatly troubled & imprisoned for witnessing against the errors of the times: during the time of his imprisonment, his wife fell sick, of which sickness she died. He procured liberty of the Bishop to visit his Wife, before her death, and commended her to God by Prayer, who soon after gave up the ghost: at his return to Prison, his poor Children being many, repaired to the Bishop to *Lambeth*, and made known unto him their miserable condition, by reason of their good Father his being continued in close durance; who commiserated their condition so far, as to grant him his liberty, who soon after came over into *New-England*, and settled for some time at the Town of *Scituate*, and was chosen Pastour of their Church, and faithfully dispensed the Word of God amongst them: and afterwards the said Church dividing, a part whereof removing to *Barnstable*, he removed with them, and there remained until his death. He was a man of an humble and broken heart and spirit, lively in dispensation of the Word of God; studious of peace, furnished with godly contentment; willing to spend and to be spent for the Cause and Church of Christ. He fell asleep in the Lord, Nov.8.1653.

1654.

This Year Mr. *William Bradford* was Elected Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. <i>Thomas Prince</i> ,	} were Chosen Assistants to him in Government.
Captain <i>Miles Standish</i> ,	
Mr. <i>William Collier</i> ,	
Mr. <i>Timothy Hatherly</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Brown</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Alden</i> , and	
Capt. <i>Thomas Willer</i> ,	

T 3

.1655.

1 6 5 5.

THis Year Mr. *William Bradford* was Elected Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. <i>Thomas Prince</i> ,	} were Chosen Assistants to him in Government.
Captain <i>Miles Standish</i>	
Mr. <i>William Collier</i> ,	
Mr. <i>Timothy Hatherly</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Brown</i> ,	
Mr. <i>John Alden</i> ,	and
Captain <i>Thomas Willet</i> ,	

The death of This year that Worthy and Honourable Gentleman Mr. *Edward Winflow*. *ward Winflow* deceased; of whom I have had occasion to make honourable mention formerly in this Discourse. He was the Son of *Edward Winflow* Esq; of the Town of *Draughswich* in the County of *Worcester*: He travelling into the *Low-Countreys*, in his Journeys fell into acquaintance with the Church of *Leyden* in *Holland*, unto whom he joyned, and with whom he continued until they parted to come into *New-England*, he coming with that part that came first over, and became a very worthy and useful Instrument amongst them, both in the place of Government and otherwise, until his last Voyage for *England*, being sent on special Imployment for the Government of the *Massachusetts*, as is forementioned in this Book; and afterwards was employed as one of the grand Commissioners in that unhappy Design against *Domingo* in *Hispaniola*, who taking grief for the ill success of that Enterprize; on which, together with some other Infirmities that were upon him, he fell sick at Sea betwixt *Domingo* and *Jamaica*, and died the eighth day of *May*, which was about the Sixty first year of his life, and his Body was honourably committed to the Sea, with the usual Solemnity of the Discharge of Fourty two Piece of Ordnance. One

One of the Company who was imployed in taking notice of the Particulars of that Tragedy, gave such Testimony of the said Mr. Winslow, as followeth in this Poem :

*The Eighth of May, west from Spaniola shore,
God took from us our Grand Commissioner,
Winslow by Name, a man in Chiefest Trust,
Whose Life was sweet, and Conversation just;
Whose Parts and wisdom most men did excell:
An honour to his Place, as all can tell.*

1 6 5 6.

THis Year Mr. William Bradford was Chosen Governour of the Jurisdiction of New-Plimouth :

Mr. Thomas Prince,	} were chosen to be his Assistants in Government.
Mr. William Collier,	
Mr. Timothy Hatherly	
Captain Miles Standish,	
Mr. John Alden,	
Capt. Thomas Willet, &	
Capt. James Cudworth,	

This Year Captain Miles Standish expired his mortal life: He was a Gentleman, born in Lancashire, and was Heir-Apparent unto a great Estate of Lands and Livings, surreptitiously detained from him; his great Grandfather being a Second or Yonnger Brother from the House of Standish. In his younger time he went over into the Low-Countries, and was a Souldier there, and came acquainted with the Church of Leyden, and came over into New-England with such of them as at the first set out for the Planting of the Plantation of New-Plimouth, and bare a deep share of their first Difficulties, and was always

The death of Capt. Standish.

always very faithful to their Interest: He growing ancient, became sick of the *Stone* or *Strangullion*; whereof, after his suffering of much dolorous pain, he fell asleep in the Lord, and was honourably buried at *Duxbury*.

1 6 5 7.

THis year Mr. *Thomas Prince* was Chosen Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*.

This Election was on the fifth of June 1657. & M^r William Bradford died the 9th of May in this year before this Election.

Mr. *William Collier*,
Mr. *Timethy Hatherly*,
Mr. *John Alden*,
Captain *Thomas Willet*,
Capt. *James Cudworth*,
Capt. *Josias Winslow*, &
Lieut. *Tho: Southworth*,

Were Chosen his Assistants in Government.

This Year it pleased God to put a period to the life of his precious Servant Mr. *William Bradford*, who was the second Governour of the Jurisdiction of *Plimouth*, and continued in the same place for the most part of his time, with little intermission. Concerning whom, the following Poems made, the one by himself, and the other by such as were well acquainted with his Worth and Excellency, will give a large Testimony thereof.

Certain Verses left by the Honoured *William Bradford* Esq; Governour of the Jurisdiction of *Plimouth*, penned by his own hand, declaring the gracious dispensation of Gods Providence towards him in the time of his Life, and his preparation and fittedness for Death.

From my years young in dayes of Youth,
God did make known to me his Truth,

And

*And call'd me from my Native place
For to enjoy the Means of Grace.
In Wildernefs he did me guide,
And in Strange Lands for me provide.
In Fears and Wants, through Weal and Woe,
As Pilgrim past I to and fro:
Oft left of them whom I did trust;
How vain it is to rest on Dult!
A man of Sorrows I have been,
And many Changes I have seen.
Wars, Wants, Peace, Plenty have I known;
And some advanc'd, others thrown down.
The humble, poor, cheerful and glad;
Rich, discontent, sower and sad:
VVhen Fears with Sorrows have been mixt,
Consolations came betwixt.
Faint not, poor Soul, in God still trust,
Fear not the things thou suffer must;
For, whom he loves he doth chastise,
And then all Tears wipes from their eyes.
Farewell, dear Children, whom I love,
Your better Father is above:
VVhen I am gone, he can supply;
To him I leave you when I dye.
Fear him in Truth, walk in his Wayes,
And he will blefs you all your dayes.
My dayes are spent, Old Age is come,
My Strength it fails, my Glafs near run:
Now I will wait when work is done,
Untill my happy Change shall come,
VVhen from my labours I shall rest
VVith Christ above for to be blest.*

By the honoured, Major *Josias Winslow*, on the the said Mr.
William Bradford, as followeth

WILLIAM BRADFORD. Anagr.

I made Law for Bridl'.

For Law I made Bridl'.

SEE how God honoured hath this Worthy's Name,
To make it spell his Virtue, and proclame
His rare Endowments, us'd for God and Us :
Now such as honour God, hee'll honour thus.

Both Just, and Gentle; Merciful, and Just;
And yet a Man, and yet compos'd of Dust?
Yes, God within these slender walls can finde
A Noble, Virtuous, Studious, Active Minde.

God was the Guider of his Childhood, Youth;
God did preserve him ever in the Truth,
And gave him grace to own Him when but young,
Whom afterward he made a Champion strong

For to defend his People, and his Cause,
By Wisdome, Justice, Prudence, and by Laws;
And most of all by his own good Example,
A Patern fit to imitate most ample.

If we should trace him from the first, we finde
He flies his Country, leaves his Friends behinde,
To follow God, and to profess his Wayes,
And here encounters Hardships many daies.

He is content (with Moses) if God please,
(Renouncing Honour, Profit, Pleasure, Ease)
To suffer Tossings and Unsettlements,
And (if their Rage doth rise) to Banishments

He

*He weighs it not, so he may still preserve
His Conscience clear, and with Gods People serve
Him freely, 'cording to his minde and will,
If not in one place, hee'll go forward still.*

*If God have Work for him i'th' Ends of th' Earth,
Safe, Danger, Hunger, Colds, nor any Dearth,
A howling Wildernesse, nor Salvage men,
Discourage him, hee'll follow God agen.*

*And how God hath made him an Instrument
To us of quiet Peace and Settlement,
I need not speak; the eldest, youngest know
God honour'd him with greater Work then so.*

*To sum up all, in this still he went hence,
This man was wholly God's: His Recompence
Remains beyond expression, and he is
Gone to possess it in Eternall Bliss.*

*Hee's happy, happy thrice; unhappy we
That still remain more Changes here to see
Let's not lament that God hath taken him
From Troubles hence, in Seas of Joyes to swim.*

*Let's not lament his gracious Life is ended,
And he to Life of Glory is attended;
Nor let us grieve that now Gods Work is done,
In making him a happy blessed one.*

*But let's bewail that we have so neglected
Duty to God; or men have disrespected,
With earnest Lamentations let's lament,
And whiles we may let's seriously Repent,*

*That we have not improved as we might,
For God, and for our selves, this worthy Wight;
And now that God hath Moses ta'ne away,
Let's pray that he would give us Ioshua*

*To go before the Camp, and to subdue
God's and his People's foes; whatever Crew
Oppose our Journeys to that Land of Rest,
Which till obtain'd, we're never truly blest.*

*And for our better progress in this course,
Let now our great Necessity enforce
Each man to study Peace, and to improve
His greatest strength to re-unite in Love
The Hearts and the Affections of us all,
Lest by our fault Gods Work to th'ground should fall.*

*W hy mourns the People thus for me, since I
I n Heavens dwelt shall to Eternity?
L et not so many Tears fall from my Friends;
L ive holy, happy, God will recompense
I nto your bosomes all your love again,
A nd your affections whiles I did remain
M ongst you, but now you must refrain.*

*B ear up your hearts, dear hearts, when thoughts of me
R un in your mindes, with this, The time will be,
A nd every hower brings it on apace,
D ear friends, when we for ever shall embrace.
F arewell but for a season then, farewell;
O ur next Embraces shall the rest excell.
R est happy, Children, Friends, and Tender Wife,
D eath but begins the godly's happy Life.*

A few

A few Verses more added by one that was well acquainted
with the Worth of the said Mr. *William Bradford*.

THe Ninth of May, about Nine of the Clock,
A precious one God out of Plimouth took :
Governour Bradford then expir'd his breath,
Was call'd away by force of cruel Death.
A man approv'd in Town, in Church, in Court,
Who so behav'd himself in godly sort
For the full space of Thirty seven years,
As he was means of turning many fears
Away from thee, poor Plimouth, where he spent
The better part of time that God him lent.
Well skil'd he was in Regulating Laws,
So as by Law he could defend the Cause
Of poor distressed Plaintiff, when he brought
His Case before him, and for help besought.
Above all other men, he loved those
Who Gospel truths most faithfully unfold,
Who were with Grace and Learning fully fraught,
Such as laboriously the Gospel taught :
Willing also to own in his due place
The meanest Saint, expressing gifts of grace.
Sweet Brewster he is gone some time before,
Wife Winslow whose death we lament so sore,
And faithful Standish freed from horrid pain,
To be with Christ, in truth the greatest gain :
Now blessed holy Bradford, a Successor
Of blessed holy Bradford the Confessor,
Is gone to place of Rest, with many more
Of precious ones, whom I might name great store,
And Commendation of each one have given ;
But what needs that ? their Names are writ in Heaven.
And now, dear Lord, let us our time improve,
To be with thee in Prayer much above.

*Oh save my People, help in time of need;
When all means fails, be thou in room and stead
Of other helps, who fail when needed most
When greatest need, they then give up the ghost.
And let thy Servants their time still imploy,
That in the end they may attain such joy
As may a fruit of true Believing bee,
That we with Christ may reign Eternallie.*

This Worthy Gentleman was interred with the greatest solemnities that the Jurisdiction to which he belonged was in a capacity to perform: many deep sighs, as well as loud volleys of shot, declaring that the People were no less sensible of their own loss, who were surviving, then mindful of the worth and honour of him that was deceased; you might now easily discern a heavy heart in the mournful countenance of every sober minded and considerate man: for as you have heard in the three or four Years last past, God was pleased greatly to weaken this poor tottering Colony of *Plimouth*, by taking away several of the most usefull Props thereof, both in Church and Civil State; some others who had been of singular use, now stooping under the infirmities of old age, could not be so serviceable as in times past, and others removed so far from the center of the Government, that they could not without great difficulties attend their publick concerns, nor could possibly so constantly as our necessities required, which did greatly aggravate our troubles: we were become weak, when we had need of greatest strength; had lost many of our Chieftains, when we stood in need of the best conduct and guidance: for besides the troubles and changes that then attended our Native Country, and might call for great circumspection in our walking in relation unto them; we had also at this very time, some amongst us that growing weary of the long peace and concord that we had enjoyed, and hoping to fish better in troubled waters, when their bait might be taken in, and the hook not easily discerned, would willingly have been
ringing

ringing the Changes in this Jurisdiction also, pretending a great zeal for liberty of Conscience, but endeavouring to introduce such a liberty of Will, as would have proved prejudicial, if not destructive to Civil and Church societies : and at the same time there arrived in the said Colony many of that pernicious sect called *Quakers*, whose Opinion are a composition of many errors, and whose practices tend greatly to the disturbance both of Church and State ; many unstable people amongst us were leavened with their errors, and proved very troublesome to this as well as other Colonies in *New-England*. But the Lord many times delighteth to appear in the Mount of his Peoples miseries, distresses and troubles, that his power and wisdom may appear when they are weakest, and that they may know that their salvation is from him. At such a time, & when the condition of this Colony was such as hath been declared, God was pleased to minde it, even in its low estate, and when he had taken to himself not only our *Moses*, but many of the Elders and Worthies of our *Israel*, he hath not hitherto left us without a *Josua* to lead us in the remaining part of our pilgrimage. When the usual time for the renewing of our Election of such as should govern us came, Mr. *Thomas Prince* was by unanimous vote chosen Governour ; and although mens spirits were so distempered as I have related, and it might have been expected that they would have been much divided in their choice ; yet God (who disposeth the lot that is cast into the lap) so disposed that all their votes centered there : a good demonstration that he was chosen of God for us, and by his blessing made an Instrument of much peace and settlement in this place, and to this people, in these times of trouble and confusion. The Lord also directing the Freemen of this Jurisdiction at the same time in their Election to the choice of a discreet and able Council, to be assistant unto our said honoured Governor in this so weighty Work, divers of them being descended of several of the honour'd Magistrates deceased ; not only bearing their Names, but having a large measure of their Spirit bestowed on them, befitting them for such Work ; so as through the goodness of God, those
storms.

storms that seem'd to threaten the subversion of our All, and did at first prevail, to the disturbing and shaking of many Towns and Churches, and to the great discouragement of the Ministers in divers places, do seem to be pretty well blown over; such uncomfortable jarrs (as have been sometimes thought uncureable) seem to be thoroughly reconciled and healed, our Towns for the most part supplied with godly and able Ministers, and we sit under our Vines and Figtrees in peace, enjoying both Civil and Religious Liberties: For which goodness of the Lord, let his holy Name be praised; and may he grant us so to improve our present opportunities, as he may have some suitable returns, and we may have cause to hope in his grace for the continuance of such favours.

This Year that much honoured and worthy Gentleman, Mr. *Theophilus Eaton*, Governour of *New-Haven*, deceased; who was very Eminent both on a Religious and Civil account: His death proved a great blow to that Jurisdiction, and was seconded (not long after) with the loss of another precious man amongst them, viz. Mr. *Francis Newman*.

*The loss of Mr.
Garrets Ship.*

In this year 1657, in the moneth of *November*, Mr. *Garret* set sail on a Voyage for *England* from *Boston*; in whose Ship, amongst many considerable Passengers, there went Mr. *Thomas Mayhew* junior, of *Martins-Vineyard*, who was a very precious man: he was well skill'd, and had attained to a great proficiency in the *Indian Language*, and had a great propensity upon his Spirit to promote Gods glory in their Conversion, whose Labours God blessed for the doing of much good amongst them; in which respect he was very much missed amongst them, and bewailed by them: as also in reference unto the Preaching of Gods Word amongst the *English* there. The loss of him was very great. Many other sad losses befell sundry others in the Country by the loss of that Ship, both in their Estates and dear Relations, to the great grief and sadning of the hearts of many.

1 6 5 8.

THis year Mr. *Thomas Prince* was Elected Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*.

Mr. <i>William Collier,</i>	} Were Elected his Assistants in Government.
Mr. <i>John Alden,</i>	
Captain <i>Thomas Willet,</i>	
Capt. <i>Josias Winslow,</i>	
Lieut. <i>Tho: Southworth,</i>	
Mr. <i>William Braasford, &c</i>	
Mr. <i>Thomas Hinkley,</i>	

This Year there was a very great Earthquake in *New-England*.

Also Mr. *Ralph Partridge* died in a good old Age, having for the space of forty years dispensed the Word of God with very little impediment by sickness: His pious and blameless life became very advantageous to his Doctrine; he was much honoured and loved by all that conversed with him. He was of a sound and solid judgement in the main Truths of Jesus Christ, and very able in Disputation to defend them; he was very singular in this, That notwithstanding the paucity and poverty of his Flock, he continued in his Work amongst them to the end of his life. He went to his grave in peace, as a *sheaf of Corn fully ripe*, and was honourably buried at *Duxbury*.

In whose Remembrance, one who was a true Admirer of his worth, presented these at his Funerall.

Not Rage, but Age; not Age, but Gods Decree,
Did call me hence, my Saviour Christ to see,
And to embrace, and from his hand receive
My Crown of Glory: Oh who would not leave
A flattering World, nay Friends, or what's most dear,
The Saints Communion that's enjoyed here,

*At once to have God, Christ, Saints, Angels all,
 To make compleat, and sum our Joyes totall?
 Now I behold Gods Glory face to face;
 Now I sit down with Christ, who've run my Race;
 Now I sing praise to God, and to the Lamb
 Now I Companion to the Angels am;
 Now I behold with greatest joy my Sons
 And Daughters all; I mean Converted ones,
 Which I was instrumentall in my place
 To bring to God, but all of his Free-grace.
 How am I Changed! that of late was weak,
 Above the force of Satan now to break?
 How am I Changed! Son of sorrow late,
 But now triumphing in my heavenly state.
 How was I vex'd with pains, with griefs molested!
 How in a moment am I now Invested
 With Royal Robes, with Crowns, with Diadems,
 With Gods Eternall Loves? Such precious Gems
 He hath in store for them his Saints that are;
 For such indeed he counts his Jewels rare.
 Oh Brethren, Sisters, Neighbours, Country, Friends,
 I'me now above you: Hark to them God sends.
 As yet surviving in their worthy Charge,
 Whose work it is Gods Vineyard to enlarge.
 God and my Conscience, your experience knows,
 Whiles I was with you, I was one of those
 That labour'd faithfully Gods Vineyard in,
 Sowing his Seed, and plucking up of Sin.
 Now is the Harvest to my self indeed;
 The Lord grant a supply of one to feed
 Your Souls with heavenly food, and one to lead
 In wayes of God, untill his Courts you tread.
 Next to Gods love, my Flock, love one another;
 And next to Christ, preserve love to thy Brother.
 Let ever precious be in your esteem
 Gods holy Word; and such as slight it, deem*

Of

Of Serpents brood: whatever they pretend,
 By no means to such Blasphemies attend.
 Decline all wanderings, lest from all you stray;
 If slept aside, return in this your day:
 Keep close to God, so he that is Most High
 Shall you preserve as Apple of his Eye.
 And give you peace, on Earth Tranquillity,
 Mansions in Heaven to Eternity;
 Where we that Death doth for a time now sever,
 Shall meet, embrace, and shall not part for ever.

R un is his Race,
 A nd his work done;
 L est Earthly place,
 P artridge is gone,
 H e's with the Father and the Son.

P ure joyes and constant do attend
 A ll that so live, such is their end.
 R eturn he shall with Christ agen,
 T o Judge both just and sinful men.
 R ais'd is this Bird of Paradise:
 I oy Heaven entred breaks the ice.
 D eath under foot he trodden hath;
 G race is to Glory straitest Path,
 E ver enjoyes Love free from wrath.

This year, on the last day of July, it pleased God that by Thunder and Lightning one John Philips of Marshfield, in the Jurisdiction of New-Plmouth, was suddenly slain.

Also in the moneth of August it pleased God to take away by death Mr. William Paddy, who was a precious Servant of Christ, endued with a meek and quiet Spirit, of a courteous behaviour to all men, and was very careful to nourish an intimate Communion with God: He was instrumental in his place for common good both in the Church, (being sometimes

by Office a Deacon of the Church of Christ at *Plimouth*) and in other respects very officious as occasion did require. He having a great Temporal Estate, was occasioned thereby to have abundance of busines upon him; but when he was to put off this his earthly Tabernacle, he laid aside all his earthly Incumbrances and Occasions, even as one would have taken off a garment, and laid it down; and without any trouble of Spirit (on that behalf) prepared himself for his Journey to the Everlasting Mansions, prepared for him by his Lord and Master in the highest Heavens, whereof he was well assured; as to the like effect he spake some words to Mr. *Norton*, near unto the period of his life: and so falling asleep in the Lord, he was buried at *Boston* with honour and great lamentation, in the year and moneth above-mentioned.

One who was well acquainted with his Worth and gracious Endowments, presented this following as a Testimoniall of his good respects of him.

W eep not dear Wife, Childeren, nor dear Friends,
 I live a life of Joyes that never ends.
 L ove God, and fear him to end of your dayes:
 L ive unto him, but die to sin alwayes.
 I n heavenly place of Bliss my Soul doth rest
 A mong the Saints and Angels I am blest;
 M uch better here, then in the world at best.

P raising my God is now my great imploy,
 A bove such troubles as did me annoy.
 D id but my friends know what I here possess,
 D oubtless it would cause them to mōurn the less:
 Y our Souls with mine ere long shall meet in bliss.

1 6 5 9.

THIS Year Mr. *Thomas Prince* was Chosen Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. <i>William Collier</i> ,	} were Chosen Assistants to him in Government.
Mr. <i>John Alden</i> ,	
Captain <i>Thomas Willet</i> ,	
Major <i>Josias Winslow</i> ,	
Lieut. <i>Thomas Southworth</i> ,	
Mr. <i>William Bradford</i> , &c	
Mr. <i>Thomas Hinkley</i> ,	

Having noted before, That in the Year 1657. there arrived in the Colony of *New-Plimouth* many of that pernicious Sect called *Quakers*; the Reader may take notice, That by this time, and for some years after, *New-England* (in divers parts of it) abounded with them, and they sowed their corrupt and damnable Doctrines, both by word and writings, almost in every Town of each Jurisdiction; some whereof were, *That all men ought to attend to the Light within them to be the Rule of their Lives and Actions*; and, *That the holy Scriptures were not for the enlightning of man, nor a settled and permanent Rule of life*. They denied the Manhood of the Lord Jesus Christ, and affirmed, *That as Man he is not in Heaven*. They denied the Resurrection from the dead. They affirmed, *That an absolute Perfection in Holiness or Grace is attainable in this life*. They placed their Justification upon their Patience and Suffering for their Opinions, and on their righteous life, and retired demurrity, and affected singularity both in word and gesture.

As to Civil account, they allowed not nor practised any civil respect to man, though superiours, either in Magistratical consideration, or as Masters, or Parents, or the Ancient, neither by word nor gesture. They deny also the use of Oathes for

the deciding of Civil Controversies; with other abominable Opinions, Dreams, and Conceits, which some of them have expressed, tending to grofs Blasphemy and Atheism.

This efficacy of Delusion became very prevalent with many, so as the number of them increased, to the great endangering of the subversion of the whole, both of Church and Commonwealth, notwithstanding the endeavours of those in Authority to suppress the same, had not the Lord declared against them, by blasting their Enterprizes & Contrivements, so as they have of late withered away in a great measure; sundry of their Teachers and Leaders which have caused them to erre, are departed the Country, and we trust the Lord will make the folly of the remainder manifest to all men more and more. Errour is not long-lived; the day will declare it. Let our deliverance from so eminent a danger, be received amongst the principal of the Lords gracious Providences, and merciful loving kindneses towards *New-England*; for the which let present and future generations celebrate his Praises.

This year that Learned and godly Servant of God, Mr. *Henry Dunster*, fell asleep in the Lord. He was sometimes President of *Harvard Colledge* at *Cambridge* in *New-England*, in which he approved himself to the satisfaction of such as were in those Affairs concerned. Afterwards he came into the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*, and lived awhile in the Town of *Scituate*, and was useful in helping to oppose the abominable Opinions of the *Quakers* fore-mentioned, and in the defending of the Truth against them. He deceasing in the said Town of *Scituate*, his Body was embalmed, and removed unto *Cambridge* aforesaid, and there honourably buried.

1 6 6 0.

THis Year Mr. *Thomas Prince* was Chosen Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. <i>William Collier</i> ,	} were Chosen Assistants to him in Government.
Mr. <i>John Alden</i> ,	
Captain <i>Thomas Willet</i> ,	
Major <i>Josias Winslow</i> ,	
Capt. <i>Tho: Southworth</i> ,	
Capt. <i>William Bradford</i> , &	
Mr. <i>Thomas Hinkley</i> ,	

This year *James Pierce*, a young man that belonged to *Boston* coming on Fishing, and upon occasion putting into *Plimouth* Harbour, it pleased God that a storm of Thunder and Lightning arose, and by a blow thereof he was slain of a sudden, being much scorched and burnt thereby, although his Clothes were made fast and close about him: so strange was this great work to the wonderment of all that beheld it.

1 6 6 1.

THis Year Mr. *Thomas Prince* was Chosen Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. <i>William Collier</i> ,	} Chosen Assistants to him in Government.
Mr. <i>John Alden</i> ,	
Captain <i>Thomas Willet</i> ,	
Major <i>Josias Winslow</i> ,	
Capt. <i>Thomas Southworth</i> ,	
Capt. <i>William Bradford</i> , &	
Mr. <i>Thomas Hinkley</i> .	

1662.

1 6 6 2.

MR. *Thomas Prince* was Chosen Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. *William Collier.*

Mr. *John Alden,*

Captain *Thomas Willet,*

Major *Josias Winslow,*

Capt. *Thomas Southworth,*

Capt. *William Bradford, &*

Mr. *Thomas Hinkley,*


} were Chosen his Assistants in Government.


This Year upon occasion of some suspicion of some plot intended by the *Indians* against the *English*; *Philip* the Sachem of *Pocanaket*, otherwise called *Metacomb*, made his appearance at the Court held at *Plimouth*, August 6. did earnestly desire the continuance of that amity and friendship that hath formerly been between the Governour of *Plimouth* and his deceased Father and Brother: and to that end the said *Philip* doth for himself and his successors desire, that they might for ever remain subject to the King of *England*, his heirs and successors; and doth faithfully promise and engage, that he and his, will truly and exactly observe and keep inviolable, such conditions as formerly have been by his Predecessors made; and particularly, that he will not at any time, needlessly or unjustly, provoke or raise War with any of the *Natives*; nor at any time give, sell, or any way dispose of any Lands (to him or them appertaining) to any strangers, or to any without our privy or appointment; but will in all things endeavour to carry peaceably, and inoffensively towards the *English*.

And the said Court did then also express their willingness to continue with him and his, the abovesaid friendship, and do on their part promise, that they will afford them such friendly assistance

sistance by Advice and otherwise, as they justly may : And we will require our *English* at all times to carry friendly towards them. In witness whereof the said *Philip* the Sachem hath set to his Hand, as also his Uncle, and Witnessed unto by sundry other of his chief men.

Witness, John Saufamen.

The mark  of Francis
the Sachem of Nauset.

The mark  of Philip
alias Metacom.

This year, on the 26 of *January*, at the shutting in of the Evening, there was a very great Earthquake in *New-England*, and the same night another, although something less then the former.

And again, on the 28 of the same moneth there was another about Nine of the clock in the morning.

Forasmuch as I have had special occasion several times in this History to mention divers Earthquakes that have been in *New-England*, they being great and terrible works of God, and are usually ominous to some; strokes and visitations of his hand unto places and peoples where they are; and sometimes the Lord in the very acting of his power in them, hath declared his severity to the children of men, to their great overthrow and confusion :

I thought it necessary, before I pass on, a little to point at some few particulars, to work and induce us to a profitable remembrance of them; it being very considerable that is said by a useful Author, in taking notice of the Wisdome of God, in preparing the Earth to be a fit Habitation for man to dwell in; addeth withall, *That as if man were not alwayes worthy to tread upon so solid a foundation, we see it oft-times quake and shake, and rock and rend it self, as if it shewed that he which made it threatened by this trembling the Impiety of the World, and the ruine of those that dwell on the Earth.*

In order unto that which I have nominated in this behalf, and more principally intend, let us take notice, That Writers have rendred the cause of Earthquakes to be, *That when it*

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happeneth that Air and windy Spirits and Exhalations are shut up in the Caverns of the Earth, or have such passage as is too narrow for them, they then striving to break their prisons, shake the Earth, and make it tremble. They speak likewise of the several kinds of them: as

First, When the whole force of the Wind driveth to one place, there being no contrary motion to let or hinder it; many Hills and Buildings have been rushed down by this kinde of Earthquake, especially when the Wind causing it was strong: for if it be a feeble Wind, it onely looseth or unfasteneth Foundations; if less feeble, then without further harm the Earth onely shakes, like one sick of an Ague.

Secondly, The second kinde is a swelling of the Earth; the which, when the Wind is broken out of its prison, the Earth returns to its place again.

Thirdly, A third kinde is, A gaping, rending, or cleaving of the Earth one part from another. so that sometimes whole Towns, Cities, Rocks, Hills, Rivers, and some parts of the Sea hath been swallowed up, and never seen more.

Thus was the Atlantick Ocean caused to be a Sea, as Plato affirmeth, who lived 366 years before Christ was born.

Fourthly, A fourth kinde is, Shaking that causeth sinking, and is farre different from the former; for now the Earth splitteth not, but sinketh: this being in such places where though the surface of the ground be solid, yet it hath but a salt foundation, which being moistened by water driven through it by the force of the shaking Exhalation, is turned into water also.

Fifthly, A fifth kinde of Earthquake is contrary to the former; for as before the ground sinks down, so now it is cast up, like as in the second kinde already mentioned: onely this is the difference, that now it returneth not to its place again, but remains a great Mountain. And note, that if such a Rising be in the Sea, it not onely causeth overflowings, but produceth likewise many Islands, such as were never seen before.

These particulars are treated of at large by approved Authors, and here onely hinted, to the intent that we may take notice of the special Providence of God to *New-England* in this

this behalf, that we have not as yet felt the misery of the worst of the Kindes of Earthquakes forenamed, nor swallowed up in them, but those we have been sensible of have been rather gentle Warnings unto us, to shake us out of our earthly-mindedness, spiritual security, and other sins, lest the Lord do come against us with Judgements of this kinde in the worst and worst sort of them, or otherwise by removing the present blessing of godly Government from us.

Notwithstanding that which hath been said, the Efficient Cause is Supernatural, as either principally *God*, or instrumentally the *Angels*, although naturally the Wind shut up within the Pores and Bowels of the Earth, as is before-noted.

If the Effects of them usually are such, as by them is sometimes a discovery of the Channels of Water, and Foundations of the World, the Removing of Mountains from one place to another, the Cleaving of Rocks, and opening of Graves and of Gates, yea the throwing down of many famous Buildings and Cities, and some swallowed up, and many thousands of people destroyed thereby; the turning of plain Land into Mountains; the throwing down of Mountains, and raising up of Islands in the Sea, the breaking out of Rivers where there were none before; the discovery of burning Mountains where there were none seen before; Famine and Pestilence: (of which particulars divers instances might be produced out of the Sacred Scriptures, and several other Authors;) Ought we not then to fear and tremble before so great a God, who (as one saith) *by his Handmaid Nature doth so terribly shake the Earth, as no Land can be sure, no place so strong that can defend us?* Nay, the more strong, the more dangerous; for, the higher, the greater the fall. Let us therefore say with the Wise-man; *I know that whatsoever God doth, shall stand for ever; nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it: and God doth it that men should fear before him.*

Exod. 19. 18.
Psal. 29. 6. &c
104. 32.
Matth. 28. 2.
Psal. 18. 15.
Zech. 14. 4.
Rev. 6. 1, 14.
Mat. 27. 51.
Acts 16. 25.

Eccles. 3. 14.

This Year Mr. *John Brown* ended this life; in his younger Years travelling into the low Countries, he came acquainted with, and took good liking to the Reverend Pastor of the

Church of Christ at *Leyden* as also to sundry of the Brethren of that Church; which ancient amity induced him (upon his coming over to *New England*) to seat himself in the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth* in which he was chosen a Magistrate: in which place he served God and the Country several Years; he was well accomplished with abilities, to both civil and religious concerns, and attained through Gods grace unto a comfortable perswasion of the love and favour of God to him; he falling sick of a Feaver, with much serenity and spiritual comfort, fell asleep in the Lord, and was honourably buried at *Wannamoisset* near *Rehoboth*, in the Spring of the Year above-said.

1 6 6 3.

This Year Mr. *Thomas Prince* was Chosen Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. <i>William Collier</i> ,	} were chosen to be his Assistants in Government.
Mr. <i>John Alden</i> ,	
Capt. <i>Thomas Willet</i> ,	
Major <i>Josias Winslow</i> ,	
Capt. <i>Thomas Southworth</i> ,	
Capt. <i>William Bradford</i>	
Mr. <i>Thomas Hinckley</i> ,	

This year Mr. *Samuel Newman*, Teacher of the Church of Christ at *Rehoboth*, changed this life for a better. He was sometimes Preacher of Gods Word at *Weymouth* in the Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts*, and from thence removed to *Rehoboth*, where he continued in the Work of the Ministry untill the end of his dayes. He was a lively dispenser of the Word of God, and of a pious life, very hospitable, and at the close of his life very full of joy and comfort; and with cheerfulness
of

of Spirit resigned himself up to the Lord, and his Spirit into arms of his blessed Redeemer, desiring that the holy Angels might do their office in transporting his Soul into everlasting bliss and happiness. He fell asleep in the Lord on the the fifth of *July* 1663.

This year also it pleased God to put a speedy period to the life of Mr. *John Norton*, who was a burning and a shining Light; and although the Church of *Boston* in a more special manner felt the smart of this sudden blow, yet it reflected upon the whole Land. He was singularly endowed with the Tongue of the Learned, inabled to speak a word in due season, not onely to the wearied Soul, but also a word of Counsel to a people in necessity thereof, being not onely a wise Steward of the things of Jesus Christ, but also a wise Statesman; so that the whole Land sustained a great loss of him. At his first coming over into *New-England*, he arrived at *Plimouth*, where he abode the best part of one Winter, and Preached the Gospel of the Kingdome unto them; and ever after to his dying day retained a good affection unto them: From thence he went to *Boston*, and from thence to *Ipswich* in *New-England*, where he was chosen the Teacher of their Church; and after the death of worthy Mr. *Cotton* he was solicited, and at length obtained to return to *Boston*; and there served in that Office untill his death. He was chosen by the Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts*, together with the much honoured Mr. *Simon Bradstreet*, to go over into *England* as Agents in the behalf of that Jurisdiction, unto His Majesty and the Privy-Council, upon Business of greatest Trust and Concernment; and soon after his Return, it pleased God suddenly and unexpectedly to take him away by death on the fifth day of *April*, 1663. His Body was honourably buried at *Boston*. On whose much lamented death take this following *Elegie*.

An *Elegie* on the Death of that Eminent Minister of the Gospel, Mr. *John Norton*, the Reverend Teacher of the Church of Christ at *Boston*, who exchanged this life for a better *April 5. 1663.*

*A*sk not the reason why Tears are our meat,
And none but Mourners seen in ev'ry streit?
Our Crown (*alas*) is faln from our head;
We finde it off: Woeto us, *NORTON's* dead!

Our breach is like the Sea, no healing's known:
To comfort Sions daughter is there none?
O teach your daughters wailing every one,
Their Neighbours deepest Lamentation!

Oh that mine eyes a Fountain were of Tears!
I'd day and night in Mourning spend my years.
My Father! Father! Israels Chariots thou
And Horsemen wer't! Sons of the Prophets now

weep, since your Master from your head is taken:
This Father of the Muses hath forsaken
His Study here, not liking our dark Roome,
Doth chuse those Mansions in his Fathers Home.

The Schoolmen's Doctors, whomsoe're they call
Subtile, Seraphick, or Angelicall:
Dull Souls! their Tapers burnt exceeding dim:
They might to School again to learn of him.

Lombard must out of date: We now profess
Norton the Master of the Sentences.
Scotus, a Duncce to him: Should we compare
Aquinas here, none to be named are.

Of a more heavenly strain his Notions were,
More pure, sublime, Scholastical and cleare
More like the Apostles Paul and John I wist,
Was this our Orthodox Evangelist.

And

*And though an Exile from his Native Land,
As John in Patmos was; yet here the hand
Of Christ leads forth more clearly to espy
The New-Jerusalem in her bravery.*

*Who more Achte in Judgement was then he?
More famous too for Heavenly Policie:
He was a wise and faithfull Counsellor,
One of a thousand, an Interpreter.*

*Mighty in Word and Prayer, who could have
Whate're almost from Heaven he did crave:
On him, with things without (which I'le not name)
The care of all the Churches daily came.*

*He car'd thus naturally: Oh hear that Rod
Which us bereav'd of such a Man of God!
Zealous for Order; very Criticall
For what was truly Congregationall.*

*A Pillar of our Church and State was he;
But now No more, no more his face we see!
Who thought more fit of all his Tribe to stand
Before our King, for favour for our Land
Lately? but now translated is to Rest
This Agent of New-Englands Interest.*

*When last he Preach'd, he us the Patern gave
Of all that Worship Christ in's Church would have;
God then him up into the Mount did call,
To have the Vision Beatificall.*

*As Thomas to the Twelve said [Come, let's go
And die with him] I'd almost said so too:
I'le yet awhile in Tears sowe, that I may
Wish him in joyful Reapings live for ay.*

A Tomb

*A Tomb now holds his Souls beloved Shrine,
Of th Holy Ghost a Temple most divine,
And well New-Englands Heart may rent at this !
Wonder not, Reader, I so greatly miss
Fit words, his Worth, our loss and grief to fame,
When as no Epitaph can declare the same.*

T. S.

Not long after, viz. in the moneth of *July*, followed the death of that Eminent Servant of God, Mr. *Samuel Stone*, who was another Star of the *first Magnitude* in the Firmament of *New-England*. He was a learned, solid, and judicious Divine, equally able for the Confirmation of the Truth, and Confutation of Errours. His Ministry was with much Conviction and Demonstration, and when he set himself to Application, very powerful. He was Teacher to the Church of *Hartford* fourteen years together with Mr. *Hooker*, and sixteen years after him, Thirty years in all: He died on the 20th of *July*, and was honourably buried at *Hartford*.

A *Threnodia* upon our Churches second dark Eclipse, happening *July 20. 1663.* by Deaths Interposition between us and that Great Light and Divine Plant, Mr. *Samuel Stone*, late of *Hartford* in *New-England*.

Last Spring this Summer may be Autumn styl'd,
Sad withering Fall our Beauties which despoyl'd:
Two choicest Plants, our Norton and our Stone,
Your Iusts threw down; remov'd, away are gone.
One Year brought Stone and Norton to their Mother
In one Year April July them did smother..
Dame Cambridge Mother to this darling Son;
Emmanuel, Northampton that heard this one,

Essex,

Essex, our Bay, Hartford, in Sable clad,
 Come bear your parts in this Threnodia sad.
 In losing One, Church many lost : O then
 Many for One come be sad singing men.
 May Nature, Grace and Art be found in one
 So high, as to be found in few or none ?
 In him these Three with full-fraught hand contested
 With which by each he should be most invested.
 The Largess of the Three it was so great
 On him, the Stone was held a Light compleat :
 A Stone more then the Eben-ezer fam'd ;
 Stone splendent Diamond, right Orient nam'd ;
 A Cordiall Stone, that often cheared hearts
 With pleasant Wit, with Gospel rich imparts ;
 Whet-Stone, that Edg'd th' obtusest Minde ;
 Load-Stone, that drew the Iron Heart unkinde ;
 A Ponderous Stone, that would the Bottom sound
 Of Scripture-depths, and bring out Arcan's found ;
 A Stone for Kingly David's use so fit,
 As would not fail Goliath's Front to hit ;
 A Stone an Antidote, that brake the course
 Of Gangrene Errour by Convincing force ;
 A Stone Acute, fit to divide and square ;
 A Squared Stone, became Christs Building rare ;
 A Peter's Living lively Stone, (so Reared)
 As live, was Harttords life ; dead, death is feared.
 In Hartford old, Stone first drew Infant breath ;
 In New effus'd his last : O there beneath
 His Corps are laid, near to his darling Brother,
 Of whom dead oft be sigh'd, Not such another.
 Heaven is the more desireable (said he)
 For Hooker, Shepard, and Haynes Company.

Mr. Hooker.

E. B.

1 6 6 4.

THis Year Mr. *Thomas Prince* was Chosen Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. <i>William Collier,</i>	} were Chosen Assistants to him in Government.
Mr. <i>John Alden,</i>	
Captain <i>Thomas Willet,</i>	
Major <i>Jas Winslow,</i>	
Capt. <i>Thos Southworth,</i>	
Capt. <i>William Bradford, &</i>	
Mr. <i>Thomas Hinkley,</i>	

This year a *Blazing-Star* or *Comet* appeared in *New-England*, in the Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, and the beginning of the Twelfth Moneth: Concerning which, it hath been observed, That such was its motion, that in all likelihood it was visible to all the Inhabitants of the Earth; and that also in its motion the *Blaze* of it did turn to all the quarters of the World, and that by its turning according to the several Aspects it had to the Sun, it was no fiery Meteor caused by Exhalation, but that it was sent immediately by God to awake the secure World.

I willingly close with that which Mr. *Samuel Danforth* hath Religiously observed, as to the *Theological Application* of this strange and notable Appearance in the Heavens, *That indeed by the Testimony of the Sacred Scriptures, and the common Histories of former Ages, Comets do usually precede, and portend great Calamities, and notable Changes.*

To adde a few more Instances to those the said Author hath well observed.

When the Emperour *Jovian* attained to the Empire, (succeeding the Apostata *Julian*, under whom the Church suffered much Persecution) and that under him both Church and Commonwealth were like to have had a flourishing time, had he

he not been taken away by sudden death; Then also appeared a *Comet*, shewing that further trouble was yet to be expected to the Church. *Socrates, lib. 4. Cap. 22.*

Again, other Authors make mention of a strange *Comet* that was seen in the year of Christ 410, being like a Two-edged Sword, which portended many Mischiefs and Calamities that happened both in the East and West, and such great slaughters of men were about those dayes, as no Age ever afforded the like: All *Europe* was in a manner undone; no small part of *Asia* was affrighted; and *Africa* also was not void of those Evils, as War, Famine, Drought and Pestilence: all of them strove as it were to trouble the whole World.

Also in the Years 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, *Comets* appeared, and great Calamities followed; sundry unheard-of Diseases were felt, Rivers dried up, and Plagues were increased; *Tamerlain*, King of the *Scythians* and *Parthians*, with an innumerable Host invaded *Asia*, calling himself *The Wrath of God, and Desolation of the Earth.* *Reade carior, lib. 5. pag 854.*

Also in the Year 1529 appeared four *Comets*; and in the Years 1530, 1532, and 1533, were seen in each year one.

Languet saith, That there were three within the space of two years, upon which these and the like Calamities followed; viz. A great Sweating Sicknes in *England*, which took away great multitudes of people; The *Turk* in the quarrel of *John Hunoyda*, who laid Claim to the Crown of *Hungaria*, entred the said Kingdome with Two hundred and fifty thousand fighting Souldiers, committing against the Inhabitants thereof most harsh and unspeakable Murthers, Rapes, Villanies and Cruelties.

Great Famine and Dearth in *Venice*, and the Countries thereabouts, which swept away many; The Sweating Sicknes in *Brabant*, and in a great part of *Germany*.

Great Wars likewise about the Dukedome of *Millain*, between the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and *Francis* the French King.

About that time also all *Lusitania* or *Portugal* was struck with

with an Earthquake, infomuch that at *Ulisippo*, or *Lisbon*, above a Thousand Houses were thrown down, and Sixty more so shaken that they were ready to fall: with many other Evils that befell those parts about that time.

And to observe what hath fallen out since this last *Comet* appeared, will not be unuseful, either in *Europe*, or in *America*.

In *Europe*, the great Contelt between our own Nation and the *Dutch*, which hath threatned bloody War; and what will be in the conclusion, is known onely to God: Besides other Contests between the *Dutch* and some other of their Neighbours; as also the Pettilence very hot both in *England* and *Holland*.

Since the writing hereof there have been sad engagements betwixt the two Nations, and much Blood spilt.

In *America*, the late and sad blow that our Countrymen at the Isle *Christophers* received from the *French*. And as to our selves in *New-England*, although through the mercy of our good God there is no breaking in, nor going out into Captivity, nor complaining in our streets; yet we have been threatned with Invasion by Forreign Force, and sometimes in expectation thereof, as also we are not to slight the hand of God in his late sore Strokes in taking away so many by Thunder and Lightning, to the great amazement and terroure of many: as also Gods continued strokes in Drought, Blasting, and Mildew, with which much of the Fruits of the Earth have been destroyed. All which considered, ought to induce us to search and try our wayes, and to enter into a strict and serious examination of our hearts and lives, and having found out what those sins are that are most provoking to the Majesty of Heaven, we may reform them, whether in Church, in State, in Family, or in Persons, that so he may not stir up all his wrath, but yet may delight over us to do us good, from the beginning of the year to the end thereof.

Psal 78. 38.

This year it pleased God to smite the Fruits of the Earth, viz. the Wheat in special, with Blasting and Mildew, whereby much of it was utterly spoiled, and became profitable for nothing, and much of it worth little, being light and empty. This was looked at by the judicious and conscientious of the Land,

Land, as a speaking Providence against the *Unthankfulness* of many for so great a mercy, and their *Murmuring* expressed in their words, by slighting and undervaluing terms of it : as also against Voluptuousness, and abuse of the good Creatures of God by Licentiousness in Drinking, and Fashions in Apparel ; for the obtaining whereof, a great part of this principal Grain was oftentimes unnecessarily expended. This so sad a Dispensation, with other particulars, occasioned the observation of some dayes in a way of Humiliation before the Lord, somewhat more frequently then ordinary. Let it also be observed, That yet *in judgement he remembered mercy*, by affording a plentiful Harvest of other sorts of Grain, so as the Country suffered not in respect of the want of Bread this year, but had plenty thereof.

This year also His Majesties Commissioners, *viz.* Colonel *Richard Nicolls*, Sir *Robert Carre* Knight, *George Cartwright* Esq, and *Samuel Maverick* Esq, Arrived at *Boston* in *New-England* in the moneth of *July* : The tenour of whose Commission was in special, *To reduce the Dutch at the Manhato's to His Majesties Obedience* ; which in some short time was accomplished, and the Place and Jurisdiction thereof surrendred up unto His Majesties said Commissioners, who stiled it by the Name of *New-York*, and placed a Government over it of His Majesties Subjects, the aforesaid honourable Colonel *Richard Nicolls* being Governour in chief there. And whereas they were likewise Commissionated *To hear and determine such Differences as might be amongst the Colonies, in respect unto the Bounds of their Jurisdictions* ; Some such Differences were by them heard, and in special betwixt *Plimouth* and *Road-Island*, and such Settlement therein concluded as they were capacitated unto. As also sundry Propositions were by them made to severall of the respective Jurisdictions, which together with the Agitations concerning them, and the Answers unto them, are elsewhere extant. They likewise presented the honoured Governour of the Jurisdiction of *Plimouth* (as to that Colony) with a gracious Letter from His Majesty : The Contents whereof are as followeth.

*To Our Trusty and Well beloved, Our Governour and
Council of New-Plimouth, greet.*

C H A R L E S R E X.

TRusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. We need not enlarge upon Our Care of, and Affection to that Our Plantation of *New-Plimouth*, when We give you such a Testimony & Manifestation of it, in the sending of those Gentlemen, persons well known unto Us, and deserving from us, Our trusty and well-beloved Colonel *Richard Nicolls*, Sir *Robert Carre* Knight, *George Cartwright* Esq; and *Samuel Maverick* Esq; our Commissioners to visit you, and other our Plantations in those parts of *New-England*, and to give us a full and particular Information and account of your present state and condition, and how the same may be advanced and improved by any further Acts of Grace and Favour from us towards you; and that both you and all the world may know and take notice, That we take you into our immediate protection, and will no more suffer you to be oppressed or injured by any foreign Power, or ill Neighbours, then we would suffer our other Subjects that live upon the same Continent with us, to be so injured and oppressed. And as our Care and Protection will (we doubt not) be sufficient with Gods blessing to defend you from foreign force; so our Care and Circumspection is no less, that you may live in peace amongst your selves, and with those our other Subjects who have planted themselves in your neighbour Colonies, with that Justice, Affection, and brotherly Love, which

which becomes Subjects born under the same Prince, and in the same Country, and of the same Faith and Hope in the Mercies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And to the end there may be no Contentions and Differences between you, in respect of the bounds and Jurisdiction of your several Colonies; the hearing and determining whereof we have referred to our Commissioners, as the Right appears by clear Evidence and Testimony before them, or that they can settle it by your mutual Consent and Agreement; otherwise, in cases of difficulty, they shall present the same to us, who will determine according to our own Wisdom and Justice. The *Address* you formerly made to us, gave us so good satisfaction of your Duty, Loyalty and Affection to us, that we have not the least doubt that you will receive those Commissioners in such manner as becomes you, and as may manifest your respect and affection towards us, from whom they are sent. They will let you know the resolution we have to preserve all your Liberties and Priviledges, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, without the least violation; which we presume will dispose you to manifest by all wayes in your power, Loyalty and Affection to us, that all the world may know that you do look upon your selves as being as much our Subject, and living under the same obedience under us, as if you continued in your natural Country. And so We bid you farewell.

*Given at Our Court at Whitehall, April 23. 1664.
in the Sixteenth Year of Our Reign.*

By His Majesties Special Command,
HENRY BENET.

After

The said Sir
Robert Carre
since that went
for England,
in the year 67.

After the said His Majesties Commissioners had visited several of the Jurisdictions of *New-England*, and were courteously entertained in every of them, the said honourable Colonel *Richard Nicolls* is settled at *New-York* for the present, being Governour there, as is before-noted: *George Cartwright* Esq; went for *England* in the latter end of the year with Mr. *Benjamin Gillam*, and was taken by the *Dutch*, and afterwards with some difficulty arrived in *England*: Sir *Robert Carre* is at the present at *Delaware*, and Mr. *Samuel Maverick* at *Boston*.

He arrived at *Bristol*, and died there June 1. the next day after he came ashore. About that time it was thought by such as were judicious, That through the Instigation of the said *Maverick*, (whose spirit was full of Malignity against the Country) our both Civil and Religious Liberties were much endangered; and the rather for that probably there would have been a Concurrence of divers ill-affected in the Land, had not the Lord prevented.

1 6 6 5.

This year Mr. *Thomas Prince* was Elected Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*.

Mr. *William Collier*,
Mr. *John Alden*,
Major *Josias Winslow*,
Capt. *Thomas Southworth*,
Capt. *William Bradford*,
Mr. *Thomas Hinkley*, &
Mr. *James Brown*,

} were Chosen Assistants
to him in Government.

In the Spring of this Year, that honourable Gentleman Mr. *John Endicot*, Governour of the Jurisdiction of the *Masachusetts*, changed this life for a better. He was a very virtuous Gentleman, and was greatly honoured and loved of the most, as he well deserved. He arrived at *Salem* in the year 1628,
and

and had the chief Command of those that at the first there seated, and bare a deep share of the Difficulties of those first beginnings, which were great, by reason especially of the great Sicknes and Mortality that was then amongst them, as hath been before-noted: There he continued, untill the Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts* saw reason to desire his removal to *Boston*, for the more convenient Administration of Justice, as Governour of the said Jurisdiction, to which he was frequently Elected for many years together with little intermission; and in which honourable Service he served God and the Country, untill old Age, and the Infirmities thereof, coming upon him, he fell asleep in the Lord, and was with great honour and solemnity Interred at *Boston*.

This year it pleased God to cause a sad dispensation of his hand to pass before us, in reference to the sudden death of Captain *Davenport*, who in the Moneth of *July* was slain as he lay on his Bed with a blow of Thunder and Lightning. He was a man of some Eminency, being betruſted with the Command of the Castle in the *Massachusetts*; at which said Castle he was slain as aforeſaid: The more ought this ſo ſad ſtroke of God to be conſidered, and laid to heart, and improved for our humiliation, and the amendment of our lives before the great and terrible God, who ſo aloud ſpake unto us in this ſo ſad and awing a Providence.

This year it pleased the Lord again to ſtrike the Wheat of this Country in a more general way then the laſt year, with Blaſting and Mildew, whereby the greateſt part of it was ſpoiled, and the Plowmans hopes (in that reſpect) very much frustrated. Howbeit, the Lord ſtill mixed with this affliction very much mercy, in ſparing the other Grain, whereby the Country was in ſome good meaſure ſupplied.

1 6 6 6.

THis Year Mr. *Thomas Prince* was Chosen Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*:

Mr. <i>John Alden</i> ,	} were chosen to be his Assistants in Government.
Major <i>Josias Winslow</i> ,	
Capt. <i>Thomas Southworth</i> ,	
Capt. <i>William Bradford</i>	
Mr. <i>Thomas Hinckley</i> ,	
Mr. <i>James Brown</i> , &	
Lieut. <i>John Freeman</i> ,	

This year it pleased God to go on in a manifestation of his displeasure against *New-England*, in a very remarkable manner, by striking dead in a moment by a blow of Thunder, three persons in the Town of *Marssfield* in the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*, in the moneth of *June*, viz. one named *William Shirliff*, and a Woman and a Youth; which sad Dispensation of Gods hand, being considered with some Circumstances, gave cause to the beholders to be much astonished: the said *Shirliff* having his Wife by the hand, and sitting by her to chear her, in respect that the said storm was so fierce, he was slain, and she preserved, though in some measure scorched with the Lightning; yea, he had one of his Children in his arms, and himself slain, and the Childe preserved. We have likewise received intelligence of four more that about that time were slain by Thunder and Lightning about *Pascataqua*, and divers more hurt. At the time of this storm of Thunder and Lightning, in the which those of *Marssfield* died, there arose likewise a very great Whirlwind, that where it came it tore up Trees by the Roots, though through mercy it did little other hurt

It was a great while, and many years spent since the *English* came

came into these parts, before any very considerable hurt was done by Thunder and Lightning to either man, or beast appertaining to them, although sometimes very fierce storms of that kinde; as frequently as in these times: but now how doth the Lord go on gradually in this, as in other Judgements here in *New-England*? first by striking Cattel, and then one person at a time, and this year divers, to the number of seven, besides some Cattel also.

Thus God thundereth marvellously with his voice, he worketh great things which we know not: He can send the Lightnings that they may walk, and say, *Lo here we are.* Hath any an arm like God? or can any thunder with a voice like him? By this his terrible Voice he breaketh the Cedars, and divideth the flames of fire; which he commisionates to do his pleasure, sometimes not onely striking Cedars, but great Oaks in a wonderful manner, sometimes Beasts, sometimes Men and Women. If Gods Judgements have thus been abroad in the Earth, how ought the Inhabitants (of *New-England*) to learn righteousness? How easily can the Lord stain the pride of our glory with a stroke of his hand? Les not the familiarnefs or frequency of such Providences, cause them to be neglected by us, to improve them as God would have us, to fear before him, and to turn from such iniquities especially as are most displeasing unto him, and to hold our lives in our hands, and to be in a readines for his pleasure, lest knowing not our time, as the fishes that are taken in an evil net, and as the birds that are caught in the snare, so we shall be snared in an evil time, when it saliethe suddenly upon us.

This year the Lord threatned the Country with that infectious and contagious Disease of the *Small Pox*, which began at *Boston*, whereof some few died: but through his great mercy it is stayed, and none of late have died thereof.

This year the Lord likewise threatned, and in some measure executed his displeasure upon the Country by Drought; but through his mercy hath of late sent plenty of Rain, for the recovering of the fruits of the earth. Although it is to be

Psal 65.5.

observed, That soon after a day of Humiliation was observed by some Congregations, for the blessing of Rain in the Drought above-mentioned, that sad stroke by the Thunder and Lightning at *Marblefield* fell out: so that we may say with the Psalmist unto the Lord, *By terrible things in Righteousness thou hast answered us, O God of our Salvation.*

Also this year there hath been some ground of fear of Invasion by Forreign Enemies; but hitherto the Lord hath kept us.

This year much of the Wheat is destroyed with Blasting and Mildew, as also some other Grain by Worms, and the Drought aforementioned; but the Lord hath sent much Rain for the recovery of the remainder, through his great mercy.

A special Manifestation of Gods goodness towards some poor Salvages in the Jurisdiction of New-Whimouth.

This year, about the middle of *July*, Mr. *Thomas Prince* Governour of the Jurisdiction of *Plimouth*, Captain *Thomas Southworth*, Mr. *John Eliot* senior, Mr. *John Eliot* junior, Mr. *Samuel Arnold*, Mr. *John Holmes*, Mr. *William Brinsmead*, and Mr. *Thomas Cushman*, gave meeting to Mr. *Richard Bourn* of *Sandwich*, in reference to the taking notice of what proficiency the *Indians* under the Instruction of the said Mr. *Bourn* have attained unto, in the knowledge of God in Christ, and their interest in him by Faith; and to make such Professions or Confessions as they should openly make thereof, to the glory of God, and the satisfaction of the Saints, in order unto their joyning into Church-fellowship.

And the Lord was pleased to come in unto some of them, so as they gave good satisfaction unto the said honoured and judicious persons forenamed, then assembled in reference to the premises: So that it was concluded by them, That what had passed from the *Indians* in that behalf, should be drawn up in writing, and Copies thereof exhibited to the Churches of the Jurisdiction of *Plimouth*, such of them as are neighbouring near unto them; and if nothing should be then objected, that then in due and convenient time they should be permitted and encouraged to enter into Church-fellowship as aforesaid.

Now although I doubt not but the Passages of these things will

will be in due time published by a better Pen, yet I have made bold here to insert so much as I have been informed of them, in regard that they are the first-fruits of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*, that have come on to so good perfection in this kinde.

This year, in the moneth of *December*, it pleased God to take unto himself by death that worthy Servant of Christ Mr. *William Thompson*, who was a lively dispenser of the Word of God, and very affectionate in the delivery thereof. It pleased God to bless his Labours to the Conversion of many Souls. He was sometimes, together with Mr. *Knowles*, sent unto *Virginia* by the Elders of the Churches of the *Massachusetts*, being requested by a Message sent by some of *Virginia* for some help in Preaching Gods Word amongst them: The fruit and benefit of whose Labours therein, still remaineth upon the Souls of some eminent in this Land. He was Elected and Ordained to be Pastor of the Church of Christ at *Braintry* in *New-England*; in which Office he served Christ many years, untill old Age coming upon him, and the prevailing of his *Melancholly distemper*, did in a manner wholly disable him from that Service; and Satan taking advantage thereby, he was under sad deservations and trouble of Spirit: At which time the Reverend Elders, and others of the aforesaid Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts*, were very officious for his Recovery, and in sense of his sad condition offered up many Prayers to God for him, and in Gods good time they received a gracious answer; so as in his weakness and sickness it pleased God to come in unto his Soul, and to remove the Cloud of darkness that was upon his Spirit, so that with much peace and comfort he fell asleep in the Lord, and his Body was honourably buried at *Braintry*. *Mark the upright man, and behold the just; for the end of that man is peace.*

1 6 6 7.

MR. *Thomas Prince* was Chosen Governour of the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*.

Mr. <i>John Alden</i> , Major <i>Josias Winslow</i> , Capt. <i>Thomas Southworth</i> , Capt. <i>William Bradford</i> , Mr. <i>Thomas Hinkley</i> , Mr. <i>John Freeman</i> , & Mr. <i>Nathaniel Bacon</i> ,	} Chosen Assistants to him in Government.
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This year on the last day of *November*, being the last day of the next week, there was heard several loud Noises or Reports, as if it had been Guns discharged in the Air, first one distinctly, and in a short time as it had been a Volley of Shot discharged: It was especially heard and observed at *Nantasket*, and related by sundry of them of good Credit.

In the Spring following, in the beginning of *March*, there appeared a Sign in the Heavens in the form of a Spear, something thicker in the midst then at either end, of a whitish bright colour; it was seen several nights together in the West, about an hour within the night: it stood sloping, and the one end pointing to the setting of the Sun, and so settled downward by little and little, untill it quite vanished, and descended beneath our Horizon. God awaken us, that we be not heedless spectators of his wonderful Works.

This year, on the seventh of *August*, it pleased the Lord to call home to himself the Reverend, Ancient, and godly Pastor of the Church of *Boston*, Mr. *John Wilson*: He was a true, Reverend and holy Man of God; he came to *New-England* in the year 1630. He was instrumental in the first beginnings of the Church of *Boston*, having been the Pastor of it three years before

before Mr. Cotton, Twenty years with him, Ten years with Mr. Norton, and Four years after him; Thirty seven in all: And in all the Changes of Times that passed over him, he was full of Faith and Prayer, and eminent for Sincerity and Humility, (being ever low in his own eyes;) and for the grace of Love, he had largeness of heart as the sand of the Sea, to do good to all. He was very charitable, where there was any signs and hopes of good; and yet withall very zealous against known and manifest evils. He was Orthodox in his Judgement, and very holy in his Conversation: Very few that ever went out of the world, so generally beloved and revered as this good man. He was a good man indeed, and full of the holy Ghost; He lived to a good old age, and was full of dayes, and full of honour, being in the Seventy ninth year of his Age, when the Lord took him to himself. He was Interred with much Honour and Lamentation.

In the time of his languishing Sicknes he was visited by the Elders round about, especially on the Sixteenth of May, the day after the Court of Election, when there being a general meeting of all the Elders of the Churches at his house, they requested Mr. Wilson (because they knew not whether ever they should have the like opportunity to hear him speak again, and having been from the first a Pillar amongst them, and of much Experience in his observation of the state of things) That he would solemnly declare to them, what he conceived to be those sins amongst us, which provoked the displeasure of God against the Country. He then told them, That he had divers times, and long feared these sins following, as chief among others, which God was greatly provoked with; viz.

1. Separation.
2. Anabaptism.
3. Corahism.

This latter he did explain thus; viz. when people rise up, as Corah, against their Ministers or Elders, as if they took too much upon them, when indeed they do but Rule for Christ, and according to Christ; yet (saith he) it is nothing for a Brother

to stand up, and oppose without Scripture or Reason, the Doctrine and word of the Elder, saying, [I am not satisfied] &c. And hence, if he do not like the Administration, (be it Baptism, or the like) he will then turn his back upon God and his Ordinances, and go away, &c. And (saith he) for our neglect of baptizing the Children of the Church, those that some call Grandchildren, I think God is provoked by it.

4. Another sin I take to be, The making light of, and not subjecting to the Authority of Synods, without which the Churches cannot long subsist. And so for the Magistrates being Gallio-like, either not caring for these things, or else not using their Power and Authority for the maintenance of the Truth, and Gospel, and Ordinances of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and for the bearing thorough witness against the contrary: Should the Lord leave THEM hereunto, how miserable a people should we be!

At night the Assembly being dismissed with Prayer, Mr. Wilson did (being desired by them so to do) in a solemn manner bless the Elders, making a short Prayer, saying, *I am not like long to be with you; the Lord pardon us, and heal us, and make us more Heavenly, and take us off from the world, and make us burning and shining Lights, by our heavenly Doctrine and Example. And I beseech the Lord with all my heart to bless you, and to bless his Churches, and to bless all his People, and to bless all your Families, and to bless your Wives, and to bless all your Children, and your Childrens Children; and make us all more and more meet for our Inheritance, and bring us all to it in his good time, &c.* These words, with some few other, he spake with great affection, and with tears: and all the Ministers wept with him, and they took their leave of him, even as Children of their Father, who having blessed them was about to die.

Upon

Upon the Death of that Reverend, Aged, Ever-honoured, and gracious Servant of Christ, Mr. *John Wilson*,
Pastor of a Church in *Boston*: Interred *August 8.*
1667.

A *H! now there's none who does not know
That this day in our Israel
Is fall'n a great and good man too,
A Prince I might have said as well!*

*A man of Princely Power with God,
For Faith and Love of Princely spirit;
Our Israels Chariots, Horsemen good,
By Faith and Prayer, though not by Merit.*

*Renown'd for Practick Piety
In Englands both, from Youth to Age;
In Cambridge, Inns-Court, Sudbury,
And each place of his Pilgrimage.*

*As humble as a little Childe,
When yet in reall worth high-grown:
Himself a Nothing still he styl'd,
When God so much had for him done.*

*In Love a None-such: as the Sand
With largest heart God did him fill;
A bounteous Minde, an open Hand,
Affection sweet, all sweetning still.*

*Love was his Life; he dy'd in Love;
Love doth embalm his Memory;
Love is his Bliss and Joy, above
With God now who is Love for ay.*

B b

A com-

*A comprehending Charity
To all, where ought appear'd of good;
And yet in Zeal was none more high
Against th'apparent Serpents Brood.*

*To Truth he ever constant was,
In Judgement wondrous Orthodox;
In Truth's Cause never fearing face,
As if he were another Knox.*

*The Prelates and their Impositions
Did never him Conformist make;
But to avoid those Superstitions,
Great Worldly Hopes did he forsake.*

*When in New-England Errours winds
From sundry other Quarters blew;
No one could him Conforming finde,
Nought from the Line of Truth him drew.*

*Firm stood he 'gainst the Familist,
And Antinomian spirit strong,
He never lov'd the Separ'ist,
Nor yet the Anabaptists throng.*

*Neither the Tolerator's strain,
Nor Quakers Spirit could he brook;
Nor bow'd to the Morellian Train,
Nor Childrens Right did ever-look.*

*Nor did he slight Our Liberties
In Civil and in Church-concerns,
But precious were they in his eyes
Who stood among their fixed friends.*

Grave

*Grave Saint in England twice did give
This farewell word to him; While you
Shall in that place (New-England) live
No hurt shall happen thereunto.*

*Strange word, and strangely verify'd;
He this day goes to's Grave in peace.
What Changes sad shall us betide
Now he is gone, we cannot guess!*

*What Evil are we hastening to!
Lord spare thy People, but awaken;
When such away do from us go,
That yet we may not be forsaken!*

*He a first Corner-stone was laid
In poor New-England's Boston's wall:
Death pulls this out; the breach is wide:
Oh let it not now tumble all!*

*Hee's now at Rest, and reigns in Bliss;
In Conflicts we are left behinde,
In Fears and Straits; How shall we miss
His Faith, Frayer, Zeal, and peaceful Minde.*

*Lord pour a double portion
Of his sweet, gracious, pious Spirit
On poor Survivers! let each one
Somewhat thereof at least inherit?*

*Gaius our host, ah now is gone!
Can we e're look for such another?
But yet there is a Mansion
Where we may all turn-in together.*

*No moving Inne, but Resting-place,
 where his blest Soul is gathered;
 where good men going are apace
 Into the Bosome of their Head.*

*Ay thither let us haste away,
 Sure Heaven will the sweeter bee
 (If there we ever come to stay)
 For him, and other such as bee!*

J. M.

Upon the Death of that most Reverend Man of God,
 Mr. *John Wilson*, Pastor of the first Church in
Boston, in *New-England*; whose decease was *Aug. 7.*
1667.

{	JOHN Wilson	}
	<i>Anag.</i>	
	John WILSON.	

Oh change it not! no sweeter Name or Thing
 Throughout the World within our ears shall ring.

V *H*o so of Abr^am, Moses, Samuel reads;
*O*r of Elijah, or Elisha's deeds,
*w*ould surely say their Spirit and Power was his,
*A*nd think there were a Metempsychosis.
*T*ea, like John Baptist in the Wilderness,
*S*o was our John in Patmos here, no less.
*J*ohn the Divine, resembling therefore rather,
*A*nd of New-Englands Prophets was the Father.

John

John the Divine, whose Life a Revelation
 Of Faith, and Love, and Christ to admiration.
 John the Divine, whom Jesus lov'd most dear,
 Sweetned with leaning on his Bosome here :
 This is that John, whose Death who doth not moan,
 Hath sure no heart of flesh, but one of stone.
 He had the Countries Faith, and Love, and Zeal,
 Even Grace enough for Church and Common-weal;
 Whereby was propt up all the Fabrick still,
 That else had tumbled down our Sion Hill.
 Of meely Men deserving glory more,
 You'll finde nor Martyr, nor a Confessor.
 Inspir'd he was with the Prophetick Spirit
 Of all the Prophets, which he did inherit.
 'Twixt an Apostle and Evangelist,
 His Order standeth in the Heavenly List:
 If Paul himself among us dead had been,
 More tears or sorrow could not have been seen.
 They wept not more for this, that they should see
 His face no more, then now we. Mourners bee.
 For Heavenly Poems, most Angelicall,
 Composing Volumes with delight : were all
 But gathered up in one, we should espy
 Enough to fill an University.
 And were another Psalm-book made by thee
 [Mistam of John] their Title it should bee.
 As aged John th' Apostle us'd to bless
 The People, which they judg'd their happiness :
 So we did count it worth our Pilgrimage
 Unto him, for his Blessing in his Age :
 Yet then, no Babe more longing for the Breast,
 Then he to take within the Church his rest,
 To have the sincere Milk of Gpd's good Word,
 Which to his Soul all comfort did afford :
 Not Heat, nor Cold, nor Rain, nor Snow must bar ;
 But every Where becomes an Auditor.

*who ever labour'd in the Ministry
 More given, then he, to Hospitality?
 To Strangers, Widows, Fatherless and all;
 To Friends and Foes he was most liberall.
 Of all his Prayers, Sermons, Travels, Pains,
 He is ascended Heaven to reap the gains.
 Oh for a double portion of thy Spirit!
 No richer Treasure would we all inherit.*

Mastus apposit, T. S.

1 6 6 8.

THIS Year it pleased God to visit *New-England* with the manifestation of his displeasure, by the death of three Eminent Instruments: The first whereof was that worthy Servant of Christ Mr. *Samuel Shepard*, Pastor of the Church of Christ at *Rowley* in *New-England*, who deceased in the Spring of this year, in the midst of his dayes, and in the beginning of his Work in the Ministry: The second, that worthy Man of God Mr. *Henry Flint*, Teacher of the Church of Christ at *Braintry* in *New-England*, who ended his mortal life the 27 of *April* in this year; a man of known Piety, Gravity, and Integrity, and well accomplished with other Qualifications fit for the Work of the Ministry. The third and last, but not the least, that Supereminent Minister of the Gospel (rightly so called) Mr. *Jonathan Mitchel*, Pastor of the Church of Christ at *Cambridge* in *New-England*, who laid down his Earthly Tabernacle on the Ninth of *July* in this year: Of whose rare Endowments, and the great Loss the whole Land sustained by his death, take this following brief Account.

Mr. *Jonathan Mitchell* was born at *Halifax* in *York-shire* in *England*, of pious and wealthy Parents, who coming over

to *New-England*, brought him over young; his Education in Learning was perfected at *Harvard Colledge in Cambridge*, where he attained to such a degree in knowledge, that he was soon called to be a Fellow of the Colledge, and within few years after his lustre did so shine, that the Church at *Hartford* upon *Connecticut River* made application to him in order to supply the place of that Eminent Servant of Christ Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, a little before deceased; but the Church at *Cambridge* (by the Advice of their Pastor Mr. *Thomas Shepard*, then living) not willing to part with so great a Treasure, became Competitor with *Hartford*, and gave him a Call to them. This loving Strife between the two Churches of *Hartford* and *Cambridge* about him, was in a short time decided by the awfull hand of God, in the death of that Eminent and Glorious Star, Mr. *Thomas Shepard*, Pastor at *Cambridge*, which place being wholly destitute, and *Hartford* being supplied with a Teacher, namely, that Worthy of the Lord, Mr. *Samuel Stone*, the Ballance was cast for *Cambridge*, and in the year 1650 he was Called and Ordained their Pastor. It was an eminent favour of God to that Church, to have their great Breach thus made up, with a man so much of the Spirit and Principles of their former Pastor, and so excellently qualified with respect to the Colledge: for, Reason and Prudence requireth, that the Minister of that place be more then ordinarily endowed with Learning, Gravity, Wisdome, Orthodoxnes, Ability, sweet and excellent Gifts in Preaching, that so the Scholars which are devoted and set apart in order to be Preachers of the Gospel, might be seasoned with the Spirit of such an *Elijah*: In which regard, this holy Man of God was eminently furnished, and his Labours wonderfully blessed; for very many of the Scholars bred up in his time (as is observed) do favour of his Spirit, for grace and manner of Preaching, which was most attractive. He lived Pastor of the Church about Eighteen years, and was most intense and faithful in declaring much of the Counsel of God. He went through a great part of the Body of Divinity; made a very excellent *Exposition* of the Book of *Genesis*, and part of
Exodus.

Exodus, and delivered many fruitful and profitable Sermons on the four first Chapters of *John*; and in his *Monthly Lectures*, which were abundantly frequented, he Preached of *Mans Misery by Sin*, and *Recovery by Christ Jesus*; and died in the third part of it, viz. concerning *Mans Obedience in Christ*. besides many other excellent Truths by him taught upon divers occasions. In all his Labours God was wonderfully present with him. He was a person that held very near Communion with God; Eminent in Wisdom, Piety, Humility, Love, Self-denial, and of a compassionate and tender heart; surpassing in Publick-spiritedness; a mighty man in Prayer, and Eminent at standing in the Gap; he was zealous for Order, and faithful in asserting the Truth against all Oppugners of it. In a word, he was a man whom God had richly furnished, and eminently fitted for his Work; lived desired, and died lamented by all good Christians that knew him. It pleased God upon the Ninth of *July*, 1668: in a hot and burning season, (but much more hot in the Heat of Gods Anger to *New-England*) to take him to Rest and Glory, about the 43 year of his Age. His Race was but short, but the Work he did was very much. The *Elegies* following may give the Reader a further account of what esteem he was.

Upon the Death of that truly Godly, Reverend, and Faithful Servant of Christ, Mr. *Jonathan Mitchell*, Pastor of the Church at *Cambridge*, who deceased *July 9. 1668*

VWhat shall we say? Of sad Effects what fear?
 Four Splendent Stars extinguisht in one year:
 Two Old, one Young, and this of Middle Age;
 A brightest Light, most eyes who did ingage.
 The Lord in's Temple is, Earth silence keep;
 Dispute not over-bold this Judgement deep.
 A Mourning great, each Eye distilling Streams;
 Sad Sighs and Sobs in most men's mouthes their Theams:
And

*And who can blame it? for this we well may,
 If Love, if Fear, if Temple-shakes bear sway.
 The Wife hath lost her Head; four hopeful Stems
 A Father; Cambridge too their Crowning Gems;
 Neighbours, a useful Light; Elders, a Brother,
 whose Head and Mouth made him to most a Father.
 Sad Cambridge, when thou lost thy Thomas dear,
 God pitied thee, and gave a right Compeer;
 'Tis Jonathan thy Mitchell, one in whom
 was Much-of-EL, a Michael judg'd by some.
 Right strong in School, in Desk of brightest Shine;
 Artist, good Linguist, high Orthodox Divine;
 Of Judgement deep; of Memory how large!
 Invention quick, grave, pleasant; who can charge
 Thee in thy Theory or Practick with dark fail?
 Humble, Sincere, whose Love-cords did avail.*

*Much good by him you Cambridge have receiv'd:
 He gone, by you his Relicts see reliev'd.
 A Royal Quære 'twas, when Jonathan dead,
 And Royal Act, Jonathan's Stems to feed.*

E. B.

To the Memory of the Learned and Reverend, Mr.
Jonathan Mitchell, late Minister of Cambridge in
 N. E. Inhumed July 10. 1668.

Quicquid agimus, quicquid Patimur venit ex Alio.

THe Countries Tears, be ye my Spring; my Hill
 A general Grave; let Groans inspire my Quill
 With an Heart-rending Sense, drawn from the Cries
 Of Orphan Churches, and the Destinies
 Of a Bereaved House: Let Children weep
 They scarce know why; and let the Mother steep

Cc

Hew

*Her lifeless Hopes in Brine ; The Private Friend
 O'rewhelm'd with grief salter his Comforts end.
 By a warm Sympathie let Feaverish Heat
 Roam through my Verse unseen ; and a Cold Sweat
 Limning Despair, attend me ; Sighs diffuse
 Convulsions through my language, such as use
 To type a Gasping Fancy ; Lastly shroud
 Religions Splendor in a Mourning Cloud,
 Replete with Vengeance for succeeding Times
 Fertile in Woes, more fertile in their Crimes.
 These are my Muses ; These inspire the Sails
 Of Fancy with their Sighs in stead of Gales.
 Reader, reade Rev'rend Mitchel's Life, and then
 Confess the World a Gordian Knot agen.
 Reade his Tear-delug'd Grave, and then decree
 Our present Woe, and future Miserie.
 Stars falling speak a Storm : when Samuel dies,
 Saul may expect Philistia's Cruelties.
 So when Jehovah's brighter Glory fled
 The Temple, Israel was Captive led.
 Geneva's Triple Light made one Divine ;
 But here that vast Triumvirate combine
 By a blest Metempsychosis, so take
 One Person for their larger Zodiacke.
 In Sacred Censures, Farrels dreadfull Scroul
 Of Words, broke from the Pulpit to the Soul.
 [Indulgent Parents when they spare, they spoyle ;
 Old Wounds need Vinegar as well as Oyle ;
 Disfastful Cates with Miseries do suit ;
 The Paschal Lamb was eat with bitter fruit.]
 In Balmy Comforts, Virrets Genius came
 From th'wrinkled Alps to wooe the Western Dame ;
 And Courting Canibridge, quickly took from thence.
 Her last Degrees of Rhetorick and Sense.
 Calvin's Laconick through his Doctrine spread,
 And Children's Children with their Manna fed.*

His

*His Exposition Genesis begun,
 And fatal Exodus Eclips'd his Sun.
 Some say that Souls oft sad Presages give;
 Death-breathing Sermons taught us last to live.
 One sows another reaps, may truly be
 Our Grave-Instruction, and his Elegie.
 His System of Religion half unheard,
 Full double in his Preaching Life appear'd.
 Happy that place where Rulers Deeds appear
 I'th' Front o'th' Battel, and their Words i'th' Rear.
 He's gone, to whom his Country owes a love
 Worthy the prudent Serpent, and the Dove.
 Religion's Panoply, the Sinners Terrour,
 Death sammon'd hence sure by a Writ of Errour.
 The Quaker trembling at his Thunder, fled;
 And with Caligula resum'd his Bed.
 He by the Motions of a Nobler Spirit
 Clear'd Men, and made their Notions Swine inherit.
 The Munster Goblin by his holy flood
 Exorcis'd, like a thin Phantasma stood.
 Brown's Babel shatter'd by his Lightning, fell;
 And with Confused Horrour pack'd to hell.
 The Scripture with a Commentary bound
 (Like a lost Calice) in his Heart was found.
 When he was Sick, the Air a Feaver took,
 And thirsty Phœbus quast the Silver Brook:
 When Dead, the Spheres in Thunder, Clouds & Rain
 Groan'd his Elegium, Mourn'd and Wept our Pain.
 Let not the Brazen Schismatick aspire;
 Lot's leaving Sodom, left them to the Fire.
 'Tis true, the Bee's now dead, but yet his Sting
 Death's to their Dronish Doctrines yet may bring.*

Epitaphium.

Here lyes within this Comprehensive Span,
The Churches, Courts, and Countries Jonathan.
He that speaks Mitchell, gives the Schools the Lie;
Friendship in Him gain'd an Ubiquity.

Vivet post Funera Virtus.

F. D.

An Epitaph upon the deplored Death of that Super-
 eminent Minister of the Gospel, Mr. *Jonathan Mitchell.*

Here lyes the Darling of his time,
Mitchell, Expired in his prime;
Who four years short of Forty seven
was found full Ripe, and pluck'd for Heaven.
Was full of prudent Zeal, and Love,
Faith, Patience, Wisdome from above:
New-England's Stay, next Ages Story;
The Churches Gemme; the Colledge Glory.
Angels may speak him; Ah! not I,
(whose Worth's above Hyperbole)
But for our Loss, wer't in my power,
I'de weep an Everlasting Shower.

J. S.

A fourth Minister that died this year, was Mr. *John Eliot* Junior, born at *Roxbury* in *New-England*, Eldest Son of the Reverend Mr. *John Eliot*, Teacher of the Church there. He was Educated (at *Cambridge*) in the Latine School, and in the Colledge, untill he became *Master of Arts*; and a few years after was called to be Pastor of a Church within the Bounds of *Cambridge*, upon the South side of *Charles River*. He was a person excellently endowed, and accomplished with Gifts of
Nature,

Nature, Learning, and Grace; of comely Proportion, ruddy Complexion, chearful Countenance; of quick Apprehension, solid Judgement, excellent Prudence; Learned both in *Tongues* and *Arts* for one of his time, and studiously intense in acquiring more knowledge. His Abilities and Acceptation in the Ministry did excell; His Piety, Faith, Love, Humility, Self deniall, and Zeal, did eminently shine upon all occasions. He had (under the conduct of his Father) by his diligence, industry, and zeal (for the good of Souls) attained to such skill in the *Indian* Language, that he Preached to the *Indians* sundry years; Travelling many miles in a day once a Fortnight to dispense the Gospel to them. The *Indians* have often said, that *his Preaching to them was precious and desireable*; and consequently their loss, and the obstruction in that Work, much to be lamented. In a word, there was so much of God in him, that all the wise and godly who knew him, loved and honoured him in the Lord, and bewailed his death, which fell upon the 13 day of *October* 1668. and of his Age about 35. years.

I Shall close up this small History with a word of Advice to the Rising-generation, That as now their godly Predecessors have had large Experience of the goodness and faithfulness of God, for the space of near Fourty six years (some of them) and have passed under various Dispensations, sometimes under great Afflictions, other while the Sun shining upon their Tabernacles in wayes of peace and prosperity, and yet notwithstanding, through the grace of Christ, the most of them have held their integrity in his Wayes. That so, such as succeed them would follow their Examples, so farre as they have followed Christ; that it might not be said of them, as it is to be feared it may be, by what yet appears amongst many of them, That indeed God did once plant a Noble vine in New-England, but it is Jerem. 2. 21. degenerated into the plant of a strange vine. It were well

that it might be said, that the Rising-generation did serve the Lord all the dayes of such as in this our Israel are as Joshua's amongst us, and the Elders that over-lived him, which have known all the works of the Lord which he hath done for their Fathers. But if yet notwithstanding afterwards such shall forget, and not regard those his great Works here presented before them (besides many more that I hope by some others may come to their view) be they assured, He will destroy them, and not build them up. Oh therefore, let the truly godly in this Land be incited by the example of Moyses, as the mouth of the Church, to pray earnestly and incessantly unto the Lord, That his work may yet appear to his servants, and his glory unto their children; and, that he would pour out his Spirit upon his Church and people in New-England, and his blessing upon their offspring, that they may spring up as among the grasse, and as the willows by the water-courses; That so great occasion there may be thereby of taking notice thereof in succeeding generations, to the praise and glory of G O D. So be it.

F I N I S.



A Brief Chronological Table,
Of the principall P A S S A G E S contained in
New Englands Memoriall.

In the Year of Christ 1610.

Sundry godly Christians of the *English* Nation remove out of the North of *England* into the *Netherlands*, and gathered a Church at *Leyden*, where they continued untill the year 1620.

Page 1,2

1620.

For several Reasons the *English* conclude on a removal from thence into *America*,

pag. 2,3,4

Letters-Parents were obtained from King *James* of Famous Memory for the Northern parts of *Virginia*,

p. 5

July 2. sundry of the *English* set Sail from *Holland* for *Southampton*. At their departure Mr. *John Robinson* Pastor of the *English* Church at *Leyden* writes them a parting Letter,

p. 6, &c.

August 5. they set Sail from *Southampton* for *America*: Many discouragements hapned on the Voyage,

p. 10, 11

November 11. they Arrived at *Cape Cod*,

p. 12

And there they entred into a Body-Politick,

p. 14

And Chose Mr. *John Carver* their Governour for the present year,

p. 16

Discovery is made for a fit place for Habitation,

ibid.

In the Discovery the *English* are assaulted by the Barbarous Natives,

p. 19

A place

A brief Chronological Table.

A place discovered, and there they settled, which was called
New-Plimouth, p. 21, 22
In *January* and *February* was a Mortality amongst the *English*,
which swept away about half the Company, p. 22
Several Articles of Peace were drawn up betwixt the *English*
and the great *Indian* Sachem *Massasoiet*, willingly
submitting himself and his People to become the Loyal
Subjects of the Kings of *England*, p. 24
A certain *Indian* named *Squanto*, who had formerly been in
England, became the *Indian* Interpreter for the *English*, and
proved an Instrument of much good to the first Planters,
p. 25

1621.

Several *Indian* Sachems willingly submitted themselves to the
Government of *New-Plimouth*, and voluntarily acknow-
ledged themselves and their People to be the Loyal Subjects
of the Kings of *England*, p. 29
Indian Grain planted, and *English* Grain sowed by the *English*
this year, but with little success. In *April* Mr. *John Carver*
Governour of *Plimouth* died, his Wife not succeeding him
above six weeks, p. 30, 31
Mr. *William Bradfora* was Chosen Governour in his stead.
Mr. *Edward Winslow* and Mr. *Stephen Hopkins* give the great
Sachem *Massasoiet* a Visit, p. 31
The *English* view the *Massachusetts Bay*, being courteously en-
tertained by the *Indians* the Natives thereof, p. 32
In *November* one Mr. *Robert Cushman* arrived at *New-Plimouth*,
who brought over 35 Passengers, p. 33
The *Narrhaganset* *Indians* send the *English* a Challenge, which
the *English* answer with another, but they would not accept
of it, *ibid.*

1622.

The *English* hold Correspondency with the *Indians* of the *Mass-*
sachusetts Bay by trading with them, p. 34
By reason of daily rumours of the *Indians* Insurrection, the
English build them a strong Fort, in which were several
great

A brief Chronological Table.

- great Pieces of Ordnance mounted, p.37
great Drought hapned this summer, from *May* 3. until the middle of *July* there was no Rain, so that the Corn began to wither away, but the Lord remarkably answered the Prayers of his people even to admiration, p.37,38
A remarkable Providence of God, tending to the relief of the first Planters being in great extremity, p.39
Here arrived three Ships from one Mr. *Thomas Weston* Merchant, with 67 lusty men, who seated themselves in a part of the *Massachusetts Bay*, now called *Weymouth*, p.35,36
Westons unruly Company fall into great wants, p.40
1623.
The *Indians*, by reason of *Westons* disorderly Company, stealing away their Corn, &c. carry it very insultingly over them, and enter into a Conspiracy to cut off the *English*; which Conspiracy being occasionally discover'd by the Sachem *Mafsafoiet*, was prevented by the *English*, p.41, &c.
Westons Plantation wholly ruined, p.43
Mr. *John Pierce* in his Voyage to *New-England*, was by reason of leaks and great storms twice driven back to *England*, in whose ship was 109 persons, p.45,46
In *June* one Capt. *Francis West*, who had Commission to be Admiral of *N.E.* arrived at *Plimouth*, but by reason of discouragements he quickly left the Country, p.47
Two ships, the *Anne* and *James*, arrive in *Plimouth*, p.47,48
Capt. *Robert Gorges* arrives in *Plimouth*, begins a second Plantation of the *Massachusetts Bay*, which quickly brake in pieces.
Capt. *Robert Gorges* had Commission from the Council of *N.E.* to be the General Governour of the Country; he brought over with him a Minister, on Mr. *Morrel*, that had a Superintendent Authority over other Churches granted him: but they both being discouraged, quickly returned home to *England*, p.49 to 52
A Fire which did considerable damage at *Plimouth*. Several of the Inhabitants through discontent and casualties, remove into *Virginia*, p.51

A brief Chronological Table.

1624.

The Number of Magistrates increased to 5 at *Plimouth*, p. 53
The first Neat Cattel brought into the Country, *ibid.*
Lyford and *Oldham*, for their treacherous undermining the Government of *Plimouth*, and setting up a Schismatical Church, are both Banished that Jurisdiction, p. 53, &c.

1625.

Remarkable Judgements of God upon those two *Machavilians* *Lyford* and *Oldham*, p. 59, &c.
Many of the *Merchant-Adventurers* prove open Adversaries to the Plantation of *Plimouth*, p. 61
A remarkable Providence of God on the *Merchant-Adventurers*, p. 62
Successful Trading with the *Indians* of *Kenebek*, p. 61
Capt. *Miles Standish* goes over to *England* as an Agent in the behalf of the Plantation of *New-Plimouth*, p. 62

1626.

In April Capt. *Standish* arrives in *Plimouth*, brings sad tidings of Mr. *John Robinsons*, and Mr. *Robert Cushman's* death, p. 63
They receive divers Letters from their friends in *Holland*, p. 64

1627.

Mr. *Isaac Allerton* goes over for *England* Agent for the Plantation with the *Merchant-Adventurers*, p. 64
The first distribution of Land amongst the Inhabitants of *Plimouth*, p. 65
A ship with many Passengers in her, bound for *Virginia*, was cast away at the middle of *Mannamoiet Bay*, but they saved their lives and their goods, and were courteously entertained at *Plimouth*, p. 65, &c.
The *Dutch* Plantation desire Commerce with *Plimouth*, which they grant them, and so they held mutual and profitable correspondence together. The *Dutch* acquaint the *English* with the trading of *Wampam-peag*, p. 67

1628.

Morton for his Atheistical and licentious Practises, is apprehended by Capt. *Standish*, & sent home to *England*, p. 68, &c.
Mr.

A brief Chronological Table.

Mr. John Endicot arrives, bringing with him a Patent under the Broad-Seal of England, for the Government of the Massachusetts,

1629.

Three ships arrive at *Salem*; bringing a great number of Passengers from *England*: Infectious diseases amongst them, p. 73

Mr. Higginson, Mr. Skelton, Mr. Bright, Ministers, arrive, p.74

Upon Aug. 5. was the first Church in the *Massachusetts* Colony gathered, viz. at *Salem*, p.75

The Book of Common-Prayer pleaded for, and practised in
Massachusetts Colony by two of the Patentees, p.76

But was quickly prohibited by the Authority there,

1630.

Mr. *Higginson* Teacher of *Salem* Church died, p.78

A Fleet of ten ships arrived in the *Massachusetts* Colony, in which came over many worthy Instruments, Mr. *John Winthrop*, and Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Magistrates, Mr. *Isaac Johnson* Esq, and Mr. *John Wilton*, Mr. *George Philips*, Mr. *Maverick* and Mr. *Wareham*, Ministers, arrived. Mr. *Isaac Johnson* Magistrate of the *Massachusetts*, and his Lady, soon after their arrival, died,

p.83

Churches gathered
this year at { *Buffon, by Mr. John VVilson,*
 WVatertown, by Mr. Philips,
 Dorchester, by Mr. Maverick,
 and Mr. VVareham, }

1631. A Church gathered at *Roxbury* by *Mr. John Eliot*
and *Mr. Weld*. p. 85

1632.

Sir *Christopher Gardiner* (a strong Papist) arrived in *N.E.* who for some miscarriages left the Country, and returned home to *England*, and there proved an open Adversary to the Country, p.85;86

The Lords of the Kings most honourable Privy-Council favour
the Plantations of *N.E.* by their encouraging Order, *p.87,88*

1633.

The number of *Magistrates* at *Plimouth* increased to seven, p.89

A brief Chronological Table.

- An infectious Feaver amongst the Inhabitants of *Plimouth*, whereof many died, p.90
 Great swarms of strange Flies up and down the Country, which was a preface of the following mortality, p.91
 Mr. *John Cotton*, Mr. *Hooker*, and Mr. *Stone*, Ministers, arrive in *N. E.* *ibid.*
 Mr. *William Collier*, a liberal Benefactor to the Colony of *New-Plimouth*, arrives in *N. E.* *ibid.*
- 1634.
- Mr. *Skelton* Pastor to the Church at *Salem* died, p.78
 A great mortality amongst the *Indians* by the Small Pox, p.92
 Capt. *Stone* turns Pirat at the *Dutch* Plantation, and there seizes on a *Plimouth* Barque that was there trading, p.93
 The cruel *Massacre* of Capt. *Stone* and Capt. *Norton* at *Connecticut River* by the *Pequot Indians*, p.92,93
 Mr. *Roger Williams* lamentable Apostacy, p.78, &c.
 He is Banished by the *Massachusetts* Colony, *ibid.*
- 1635.
- Mr. *Edward Winslow* sent over to *England* as a publick Agent for the Country, p.94
 An *Hurricane* which did great damage both by sea & land, p.95
- 1636.
- Connecticut* Colony planted this year by many worthy Instruments. Two shallops loaden with goods were cast away in the mouth of *Plimouth* Harbour, the goods were saved, ten men drowned, p.96
 Mr. *John Oldham* murdered in his Barque by the *Indians* of *Block-Island*, p.98
- 1637.
- The *Pequot Wars*; in which War the *English* slew and took Prisoners about 700 *Indians*, and slew 13 *Sachems*, to the great terrour of all the Natives, p.99
New-Haven Colony began this year, p.106
Antinomian and *Familistical* Errours are broach'd in the Country, especially at *Boston*, *ibid.*
 A Synod is called, which condemned these Errours out of the Word

A brief Chronological Table.

- Word of God, p. 107
Mrs. Hutchinson and Errours are banished by the *Magistrates*
of the *Massachusetts* Colony, *ibid.*
A hideous *Monster* born at *Boston* of one *Mrs. Mary Dyer*, p. 108
1638.
Three *English-men* were put to death at *Plimouth* for robbing
and murdering an *Indian* near *Providence*, p. 111
June 2. a great and fearful Earthquake in the Country, *ibid.*
Gorton, a pestilent-Seducer, and blasphemous Atheist, is banished
Plimouth Colony, Whipt and banished from *Road-Island*, 'ba-
nished the *Massachusetts* Colony, p. 108, &c.
1639.
Harvard Colledge founded at *Cambridge* by Mr. *John Harvard*
of worthy memory, p. 112
Articles of Peace renewed with *Massasout* Sachem, and his Son
Mooanam, by the Government of *Plimouth*, p. 112, &c.
1642.
Thirteen able godly Ministers at this time in *Plimouth* Jurisdic-
tion, shined as bright Stars in the Churches Firmament, p. 116
1643.
Mr. *William Brewster*, Ruling-Elder in the Church of *Plimouth*
died in the 84 year of his Age, p. 117
May 19. was the first Combination of the four United Colo-
nies of *N.E.* p. 120
1644.
Mr. *John Atwood*, an eminent Benefactor to the Colony of *Pli-
mouth*, died, p. 121
The Town of *Eastham* erected by divers considerable persons
of *Plimouth*, *ibid.*
1646.
Three men of War arrived in *Plimouth* Harbour under the com-
mand of Capt. *Tho. Crommel*, richly laden. A mutiny amongst
the Seamen, whereby one man is killed, p. 123
Mr. *Edw. Winslow* goes over into *England* Agent for the *Mass-
achusetts* Colony, to answer the complaints of sundry discon-
tented persons, but returned no more to *N. E.* p. 124
D d 3 1647.

A brief Chronological Table.

1647.

Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, Pastor of the Church at *Hartford*, rested
from his labours, p.125

1649.

March 26. Mr. *John Winthrop* Governour of the *Massachusetts*
deceased, p.130

An innumerable company of Caterpillers in some parts of the
Country destroyed the Fruits of the Earth, p.131

August 25. Mr. *Thomas Shepard* Pastor of *Cambridge* Church
died, ibid.

An Act of Parliament passed in *England* for promoting and pro-
pagating the Gospel amongst the *Indians* in *N.E.* In reference to
which, an *Indian Corporation* was there established. Able In-
struments encouraged to preach the Gospel to the *Indians* in
N.E. the Bible was translated into the *Indian* Language by Mr.
John Eliot, and (in 1664.) was printed at *Cambridge*, p.131

1650.

A great mortality amongst Children this year, p.133

1651.

Mr. *Wil: Thomas* Magistrate of *Plimouth* Colony died, p.134

1652.

Mr. *John Cotton* Teacher of *Boston*-Church died. A Comet was
seen at the time of his sickness hanging over *N.E.* which
went out soon after his death, p.135, &c.

1653.

July 31. Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Governour of the *Massachusetts*
died, about the 77 year of his Age, p.139

1655.

Plimouth hears sad news of the death of Mr. *Edward Winslow*,
who had sometimes been their Governour, p.142

1656.

Capt. *Miles Standish* Magistrate of *Plimouth* died, p.143

1657.

May 3. Mr. *William Bradford* Governor of *Plimouth* died, p.144
The Quakers (that cursed Sect) arrive at *Plimouth*, p.151

Mr. *Theoph: Eaton* Governor of *Newhaven* Colony died, p.152
Mr.

A brief Chronological Table.

Mr. *Garret* cast away in his Voyage from *Boston* to *England*,
which was a great loss to the Country, p.152

1658.

A great Earthquake was heard in *N.E.* p.153

Mr. *Ralph Partridge* Minister at *Duxbury* deceased, *ibid.*

John Philips of *Marblefield* slain by Thunder & Lightning, p.155

Mr. *William Paddy* Deacon of *Plimouth* Church died, *ibid.*

1659.

The damnable Opinions of the Quakers are vented up and
down the Country, p.157

Mr. *Henry Dunster*, first President of *Harvard* Colledge, de-
ceased, p.158

1660.

James Pierce slain by Lightning at *Plimouth*, p.159

1662.

In *January* several Earthquakes were heard in *N.E.* p.161

Philip Sachem of *Pokanaket* renews the Articles of Peace made
betwixt the Government of *Plimouth*; and his Father & Bro-
ther, p.160

Mr. *John Brown* Magistrate of *Plimouth* Colony ended this life,
p.163,164

1663.

Mr. *Samuel Newman* Teacher of *Rehoboth* died, p.164

Mr. *John Norton* Teacher of *Boston* died suddenly, p.165

Mr. *Samuel Stone* Teacher of *Hartford* deceased, p.168

1664.

A great and dreadful Comet appeared in *New-England* for the
space of three-moneths, which was accompanied with many
sad Effects, p.170

Great mildew and blasting in the Country, p.172

The Kings Commissioners arrived at *Boston* in *N.E.* p.173

Manado's surrendered up to His Majesty, and called *New-York*,
p.173

Colonel *Cartwright* on his Voyage to *England* was taken by
the *Dutch*. Sir *Robert Carre* died the next day after his ar-
rival in *Bristol*, p.176

1665.

A brief Chronological Table.

1665.

Mr. *John Endicot* Governour of the *Massachusetts*, died, p.176
Capt. *Davenport* killed with Lightning as he lay on his Bed at
the Castle, p.177
Wheat exceedingly blasted and mildewed, *ibid.*

1666.

Three killed in a moment by a blow of Thunder at *Marsfield*,
and four at *Piscataqua*, and divers hurt. A great Whirlwind
at the same time, p.178
The Small Pox at *Boston*, p.179
The mildew and blasting of the Corn still continued, *ibid.*
A remarkable manifestation of Gods goodness to some poor
Salvages in the Jurisdiction of *Plimouth*, p.180
The death of Mr. *William Thompson* Minister at *Braintry*, 181

1667.

Several Vollies of shot heard discharged in the Air at *Nantasket*.
In *March* there appeared a Sign in the Heavens in the form
of a Spear, pointing directly to the West, p.182
Mr. *John Wilson*, who had been Pastor of *Boston* Church 37
years, rested from his labours in the 79 year of his Age, p.183

1668.

Mr. *Samuel Shepard* Pastor of *Rowley* Church died, p.190
April 27. Mr. *Henry Flint*, Teacher at *Braintry*, died, *ibid.*
July 9. Mr. *Jonathan Mitchel*, Pastor of the Church at *Cam-*
bridge, deceased, p.190, &c.
October 13. Mr. *John Eliot* junior, Pastor of a Church within
the Bounds of *Cambridge*, departed this life, p.196, 197
The Conclusion of the History, with Advice to the Rising gene-
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